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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1962

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Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed by the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India
1964

Price : Inland Rs. 31·00 Paise. Foreign 72 sh. 4 d. or 11 $ 16 Cents.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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1962

KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUJARAT

By Dr. Z. A. Desai

I propose to publish in this article, the third containing my study of Gujarat inscriptions,[1] twentyfour epigraphs copied from various places in Gujarat (including Saurashtra) which belong to the time of the governors appointed from Delhi, first under the Khaljīs and later under the Tughluqs. Of these records, three belong to the reigns of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī and his son and successor Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, while the remaining twentyone were set up in the names of the Tughluq rulers Fīrūz Shāh and Nuṣrat Shāh.[2]

These records constitute an important source for the history of the pre-Sultanate period —lasting for about a century—of Gujarat. The history of the outlying provinces as a rule never received any detailed treatment from the contemporary historians who were mainly concerned with the central kingdom. Consequently, a detailed history of its pre-Sultanate period has yet to be porperly written.[3] It is, therefore, hoped that the present study will be of some use if an attempt is made to fulfill this need. Also, these inscriptions may be found interesting by the students of palaeography. Being remarkable for their execution in diverse and varied flourishes of *Naskh* and *Thulth* scripts, they represent some of the fairly good specimens of calligraphic art as practised in the mural records in Gujarat.[4]

I-III. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJĪS

Hardly within a couple of years of his coming to power, ' Alāu'd-Dīn conquered Gujarat and put it in charge of a governor with his seat at Anhilwād Pāṭan (Nahrwāla of the Muslim writers). Patan, formerly included in the erstwhile Baroda state and now a *tāluka* town in the Mehsana district, had for centuries been the capital of the province, which status it continued to enjoy for more than a century (1298-1407) until the overthrow of the Tughluq dynasty.[5] Even the first two sulṭāns

[1] The previous two articles have appeared in *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*) for 1953 and 54, pp. 49-77; and *ibid.*, for 1961, pp. 1-24.

[2] Only one inscription of ' Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī from Gujarat is so far known (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*) (EIM), 1917-18, p. 33, pl. XIb). The Gujarat inscriptions of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh and his son Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh have been studied in *EIM*, 1915-16, p. 17 (pl. XIVb); *ibid.*, 1933-34, Supplement, p. 25 (pl. XIVb), p. 26 (pl. XIVc), p. 27 (pl. XVa), p. 37 (pl. XXIc); and *EIAPS* for 1957 and 58, pp. 29-30 (pl. IXa), pp. 36-37 (pl. IXc), p. 38 (pl. Xa), p. 41 (pl. Xc). Only one inscription of Fīrūz Shāh from Gujarat has been so far published in *EIM*, 1939-40, pp. 2-3 (pl. Ia).

[3] A work originally written in Urdu by the late Maulānā Abū Ẓafar Nadvī was published in Gujarati in 1949 A.D. by the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmadabad, under the title *Gujarāt-no-Itihās*.

[4] For a brief outline of the calligraphical aspect of Gujarat inscriptions, see *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

[5] For references to books containing an account and history of the town of Patan, see *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 15, f.n.4.

of Gujarat administered their new kingdom from this ancient city ; it was only in the time of Aḥmad S͟hāh I that the capital was shifted to his newly founded city of Ahmadabad in A. H. 813 (1411 A.D.).

But in spite of its long political association, Patan contains very few records of the pre-Sultanate period ; whatever inscriptions have been found are not dated prior to the reign of Fīrūz Tug͟hluq.[1] It is difficult to explain the non-existence of the buildings or inscriptions of the K͟haljīs and the early Tug͟hluqs except on the ground that these must have disappeared due to the various obvious reasons including the hand of the vandal, the latter, perhaps, being responsible for the loss of a beauṭiful inscription of which two fragments were recently found by me in two different parts of the town. The first of these is lying loose in the Kansadā gate mosque[2] and the other is built up into the western wall of the *ḥujra* in the enclosure of Mak͟hdūm Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn.[3]

These two fragments possess more than antiquarian interest. The surviving text contained therein is fragmentary, and hence it is not possible to determine its full purport. Nevertheless, these frgaments are valuable as they contain an inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn. Calligraphically, they are remnants of a beautifully carved inscription. Bold in execution, its style which is a mixture of *T͟hulth* and *Nask͟h*, reveals grace and symmetry of the curves and straight lines of letters that please the eye. Far more interesting is the similarity between the style and execution of this inscription and that of a few contemporary inscriptions of Bihar and Bengal. The writing appears to be in Arabic.

There is little doubt that the epigraph belongs to the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn. The two fragments if placed side by side contain a continuous text with the name and title, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn [Abu'l-Muẓaff]ar Muḥammad S͟hāh a's-Sulṭān' in the first line and the title Alp K͟hān in the next. Malik Sanjar entitled Alp K͟hān, a brother-in-law of 'Alāu'd-Dīn and father-in-law of the latter's son, K͟hiḍr K͟hān, was appointed as the first governor of Gujarat in 1300 A.D. A capable and popular officer who administered Gujarat for about sixteen years,[4] he was recalled to Delhi in 1316 A.D. by the emperor and ordered to be poisoned at the instigation of Malik Kāfūr.[5]

Alp K͟hān is also credited with the construction of the Jāmi' mosque of white marble at Patan. This great mosque no longer remains but it is reported to have survived until the middle of the eighteenth century and its site can still be seen outside the Kansadā gateway of the town. It was evidently destroyed during the political disorders that followed the Marāṭhā invasions in the second half of the eighteenth century and served as a quarry for building material. The present buildings where our tablets are now found—the mosque within the Kansadā gate and the enclosure of Mak͟hdūm Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn—are situated near the original site of Alp K͟hān's Jāmi' mosque. Therefore it is very likely that the present epigraph formed part of the inscription that was set up on the said mosque.

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[1] However, an epitaph of the pre-Muslim period, dated 1282 A.D. falling in the reign of Sārangadeva Vāghela, has been found in the town (*EIAPS*, 1961, p. 16, pl. IIIa).

[2] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1954-55, No. C. 55.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. C, 96.

[4] Alp K͟hān's benevolent rule has been mentioned in contemporary Jain records, e.g. *Samar-Rāsa-Mahā-Kāvya* and an inscription from Cambay, dated V.S. 1366 (Jinavijaya, *Prāchina Jaina Lekhasamgraha*, Bhavnagar, 1921, p. 275, no 447).

[5] For the details of Alp K͟hān's career, see Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīk͟h-i-Fīrūz S͟hāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), pp. 242, 263, 323, 368, etc.; M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. I (Bombay, 1938), pp. 5, 7, 10-11.

(*a*) Epitaph, dated A.H. 698, from Cambay (p. 3)

Scale : ·25

(*b*) Fragmentary record, on two slabs, of ‘Alāu’d-Dīn Khaljī, from Patan (p. 3)

Scale : ·15

Scale : ·17

The text of this inscription on the two slabs, which measure about 50 by 34 and 37 by 30 cm. respectively, reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I(b)

(*a*) *On the first slab.*

(۱) [علا] و الدنیا و الد[ین].........

(۲) فلکٔ ؟ المعالی قطب ؟ اعا.........

(*b*) *On the second slab.*

(۱) [المظف]ر محمد [شا]ه [ا]لسلطان ناصر ؟......

(۲) المخاطب بخطاب الپخان خلد ؟......

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) [ʿAlā]u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn...

(2) the sky of eminences, pole-star..

(*b*) (1) [Abu'l-Muẓaffa]r Muḥammad [Shāh], the sulṭān, Nāṣir[-i-Amīri'l-Mu'minīn]...........

(2) one who is favoured with the title of Alp Khān...

The second inscription, an epitaph, is carved on the headstone of a grave now built up, first from right, into the north wall of the enclosure of the tomb of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn[1] at Cambay,[2] District Kaira. The epigraphical tablet is arch-shaped measuring about 57 cm. from apex to bottom and 28 cm. in width. According to the epitaph proper, Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Muhammad, son of Yaḥyā expired in 1299 A.D. The deceased is further mentioned in the text as the governor at *Kimbāya* (Cambay).

The main excuse for including this inscription in the present study, even though it does not specifically mention the name of the then ruling monarch ʿAlāu'd-Dīn, is that it designates the deceased as the governor of Cambay. It may be safely presumed that Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad was appointed to this office under orders from the provincial governor or the Delhi sulṭān. The inscription thus furnishes the rare information regarding one of the earliest officials of the recently established Muslim authority in Gujarat.

The style of writing employed in the record is *Naskh* of the conventional type.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I (a)

(*a*) *In the border.*

شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز

الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام و ما اختلف الذين اوتوا الكتاب الامن بعد ما جا[ء]هم العلم

بغيا بينهم و من يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب

[1] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 120. Of the five more tombstones to be found in the said enclosure, two have been published in *EIAPS*, 1961, p. 8 (pl. Ib), p. 9 (pl. IIa).

[2] For the history and account of the buildings of Cambay, see *Bombay Gazetteer* (*BG*), vol. VI (Bombay, 1880), pp. 240-41 ; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66 ; *EIAPS*, 1957 and 58, p. 29.

(*b*) *In the middle.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) کل نفس ذایقة الموت

(۳) هذا قبر العبد الضعیف المحتاج الی رحمة الله

(۴) تعالی شهاب الدین احمد ابن محمد ابن یحیی

(۵) الحاکم بکنبایه تغمده الله بغفرانه توفی

(٦) یوم الاربعا الخامس من شهر الله الاصب رجب

(۷) سنه ثمان و تسعین و ستمایه

TRANSLATION

(*a*) ' Allāh bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, being maintainer of justice, there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Surely, the true religion with Allāh is Islām. And those to whom the Book had been given, did not show opposition but after knowledge had come to them, out of envy among themselves; and whoever disbelieves in the communications of Allāh—then surely Allāh is quick in reckoning.'[1]

(*b*) (1) There is no god but Allāh ; Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh.

(2) ' Every soul shall taste of death.'[2]

(3) This is the grave of the weak creature, the dependant on the mercy of Allāh,

(4) the Exalted, Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Yaḥyā,

(5) the governor (*al-ḥākim*) at *Kimbāya* (Cambay), may Allāh cover him with his pardon. He died on

(6) Wednesday the 5th of the most righteous month of Allāh (i.e.) Rajab

(7) (A.H.) eight and ninety and six hundred (5th Rajab A.H. 698=8th April 1299 A.D.).

The third inscription pertains to the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh and is set up above the main entrance to the tomb of Barkat Shahīd at Dholka, District Ahmadabad.[3] The inscription may not originally belong to the tomb, since it refers to the construction of a mosque. The text of the record is in Persian except in the portion comprising religious texts and consists of two lines of writing engraved in *Naskh* characters in relief on a tablet measuring 1·15 m. by 16 cm. Its object is to record the construction of a mosque by the great and generous noble, Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Alī, the *amīr-i-kū* in 1318 A.D. during the reign of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh.

The epigraph has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate II (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم قال الله تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بناء

این مسجد در زمان خدایگان سلاطین خلیفهٔ روی زمین قطب الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر مبارک شاه

---

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter III, verses 17-18.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter XXIX, verse 57 (part only).

[3] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 6. For a brief history of Dholka and its monuments, see *BG*, vol. IV (Bombay, 1879), pp. 337-39 ; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71 ; *EIAPS*, 1957 and 58, p. 40.

(۲) السلطان ابن السطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه بنی (.sic) این خیر ملک کبیر شمس الدین
علی امیر کو دام تمکینه بتاریخ پنجم ماه صفر ختم الله بالخیر و الظفر سنه ثمان عشر و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Says Allāh, the Exalted, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; therefore invoke not any one else with Allāh.[1] The construction of this mosque (took place) in the reign of the lord of the monarchs, the *Khalīfa* (vicegerent of Allāh) on the surface of the earth, Quṭbu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Mubārak Shāh,

(2) the sulṭān, son of the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty. The builder of this auspicious edifice is the great and the generous noble, Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Alī, the *amīr-i-kū* (i.e. prefect of roads), may his dignity last for ever, on the fifth day of the month of Ṣafar, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eighteen (5th Ṣafar A.H. 718=8th April 1318 A.D.).

Apart from the fact that only six inscriptions of this king have come to light so far,[2] this inscription happens to be his only record in Gujarat. Moreover, it furnishes us with the name of a high dignitary, Malik Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Alī, the builder of the mosque, who does not find mention in historical records of the period. Also interesting is the fact that the Malik is designated in the record as *amīr-i-kū* or the Prefect of the roads, whose duty was to maintain peace and order and also look to the safety of the residents of the city.[3]

IV-XXIV. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TUGHLUQS

The Tughluq dynasty is represented by twentyone inscriptions found at distant places such as Patan (N.G.), Parantij and Cambay in Gujarat proper and Ghogha, Mangrol and Una in Saurashtra. Eighteen of these records belong to the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, two mention Nuṣrat Shāh and the remaining one does not specify the name of the king. No new inscription of the two early rulers of the dynasty, viz. Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh or his son Muḥammad Shāh has been found.

The first record of Fīrūz Shāh and the fourth of this group comes from Cambay.[4] Built up into the west wall of the Mughal mosque situated opposite the Veterinary hospital of the town, the inscriptional tablet, slightly damaged in its right side, measures 80 by 37 cm. But except for the cracks and the obliteration of two or three words in the last two lines, the writing has escaped damage.

It will be noticed from the plate that the left side of the tablet contains a later inscription, dated A. H. 1145 (1732-33 A.D.), recording the construction of a mosque by Mas'ūd, son of Mu'min Khān[5] which indicates that the present building is not very old. The presence of a later inscription by the side of an earlier one on the same face of the slab is not as inexplicable as it is unusual. A reasonable explanation may be that the original tablet was inscribed with the Tughluq inscription in its middle, and its two plain portions on the sides were wedged into the wall so that on its dislocation at a later date, the tablet was subjected to damage resulting in the loss of the portion

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 39 (pl. XIIIa & b), p. 41 (pl. XXIVb), p. 42 (pl. XIIIc & XIVb); *ibid.*, 1935-36, p. 49 (pl. XXXVIa); *ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 39 (pl. XIIb).

[3] For the office of *amīr-i-kū*, see S. H. Hodīwālā, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, vol. I (Bombay, 1939), p. 410.

[4] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 36.

[5] This epigraph consisting of two verses written in four lines in *Nasta'līq* characters in relief has been noticed in *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 37.

at the right. When the mosque was reconstructed, the left portion was engraved with the later inscription. In any case, there is no doubt about the genuineness of the Tughluq record.

The text comprises seven lines of writing and states that a mosque was constructed in 1354 A. D. in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh by the *kūtwāl* of *Khambāyat* (Cambay), whose name is lost but whose title *Qur'ān-Khwān* is clearly legible. It ends with an imprecation against one who seeks to destroy the mosque or misappropriate the endowment. The language of the record except for the religious texts which are in Arabic is Persian and the style of writing *Naskh*. The total area occupied by this epigraph on the stone is 52 by 37 cm.

The inscription has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الاخر

(۲) و اقام الصلوة و آتے الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسے اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين

(۳) و قال النبے عليه السلام من بنے لله مسجدا يبتغے به وجه الله بنى الله له مثله فى الجنة بنى المسجد المبارك

(۴) مما يوفق الله تعالى فے عهد السلطان العادل الواثق بتائيد الرحمن فيروز شاه السلطان

(۵) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه العبد الضعيف النحيف الراجى الے رحمة الله تعالى

(۶) ...... قرانخوان كوتوال كهنبايت بنده خاص غفر الله له و لجميع المومنين فے التاريخ الغره من

(۷) [شهر رجب رجب] قدره سنه خمس و خمسين و سبعمايه فمن سعے فے هدمه و طمع فے وقفه لعنة الله و الملائكة و الناس اجمعين

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment),

(2) establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allāh ; so (as for these) they would be among the followers of the right course.'[1]

(3) And the Prophet, may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh aspiring thereby to the Face of Allāh, Allāh builds for him a like thereof in the paradise.' The auspicious mosque was constructed

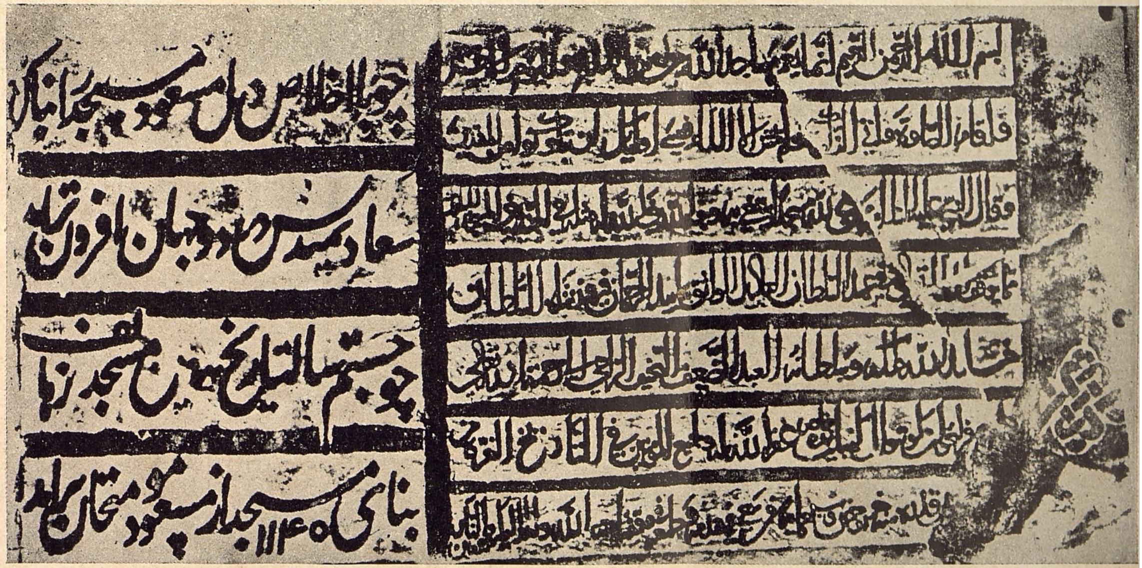
(4) out of what Allāh the Exalted favoured him (i.e. the builder) with, in the reign of the just king, the confident of the support of the Benign lord, Fīrūz Shāh the king,

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter IX, verse 18.

(*a*) Epigraph of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, dated A.H. 718, from Dholka (p. 4)

SCALE : ·17

(*b*) Bi-inscriptional tablet containing a record of Fīrūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 755, from Cambay (p. 6)



SCALE : ·22

(*c*) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 758, from Patan (p. 7)

(5) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by the weak and infirm creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allāh the Exalted,

(6) ......*Qur'ān-Khwān*, the *kūtwāl* of *Khambāyat* (Cambay) (who is) the (king's) favourite slave, may Allāh forgive him and all the believers, on the date, the first of

(7) [Rajab], may its dignity increase, of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fiftyfive (1st Rajab A. H. 755=22nd July 1354 A.D.). As to one who endeavours to demolish it or appropriates its endowment, the curse of Allāh, the angels and the people, all of them, will be on him.

It will be observed that the proper name of the builder of the mosque is lost making it difficult to establish his identity. Baranī in his list of Fīrūz's nobles mentions Malik Qabūl Amīr-i-Majlis with the title *Qur'ān-Khwān* but does not give any details.[1] Another contemporary historian, Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, furnishes the only additional information that Malik Qabūl was the *muqṭī'* of Samana.[2] But a slightly later author Yaḥyā supplies a few more details. According to him, Malik Qabūl bore the designation of a *sarpardadār* and was despatched against the Mongols towards the end of A. H. 759 from Samana by Fīrūz Tughluq.[3] He seems to have continued as the *muqṭī'* of that place until A. H. 781 for, we are told that when Fīrūz went to Samana in that year, Malik Qabūl *Qur'ān-Khwān* Amīr-i-Majlis-i-Khāṣṣ, the *muqṭī'*, paid obeisance to the king.[4] In the following year, he was given the *iqṭā'* of Badayun.[5] This Malik Qabūl is also reported to have composed a pamphlet on the art of Quranic recitation for the king.[6] The surviving title *Qur'ān-Khwān* in our record makes it very likely that the builder of the mosque is identical with this Malik Qabūl *sarpardadār* in which case it would follow that in A. H. 755, the date of the present record he was the *kūṭwāl* of Cambay.

Also, it is interesting to note the spelling of the name of the town which was a big city in those days: We have seen above (p. 4) that in an earlier Arabic record it is written *Kimbāya*, a term used by Aıab writers. Here it is written *Khambāyat*, obviously a local pronunciation which has corrupted into modern *Khambhāt*. It may also be mentioned here that this is the earliest record known so far in Gujarat of Fīrūz Tughluq.

The fifth inscription of the present study and second of Fīrūz Tughluq is fixed over the doorway of a tomb in the locality called *Ganj-i-Shahīdān* at Paṭan.[7] No informaioin is available regarding the occupant of the tomb which is not without antiquarian interest. But the epigraph does not appear to belong to this tomb since it records the construction of a mosque in 1357 A. D. by one Ḥusain. The tablet measuring 1·6 m. by 36 cm. contains, besides *Bismillāh*, a poetical fragment of five verses inscribed in conventional *Naskh*.

TEXT

Plate II(c)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و به نستعين

(۲) هزار شکر خدا را که از همایون فال   شده بناء چنین مسجد بهشت مثال

بعهد دولت فیروز شاه ظل اله   که هست درگه اعلیش قبلهٔ اقبال

---

1 Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

2 Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 454-55.

3 Yaḥyā Sarhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 127.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

6 *Oriental College Magazine, Lahore*, February, 1947, p. 44.

7 *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 81.

(۳) بحق بیت مقدس بحرمت کعبه خدای حافظ او باد در همه احوال

امیدوار بفضل خدای بنده حسین نمود سعی بتوفیق قادر متعال

(۴) تمام گشت بماه صیام و از تاریخ شمار هفتصد و پنجاه و هشت بود از سال

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. And Him do we beseech for help.

(2) Thousand thanks are due to God that through auspicious omen, the construction of such a heaven-like mosque has taken place

in the period of the rule of Fīrūz Shāh, the shadow of God, whose lofty court is the altar of good fortune.

(3) By the grace of the *Bait-i-Muqaddas* (at Jerusalem) and the reverence of *Ka'ba* (at Mecca), may God be its preserver in all contingencies.

The hopeful of the bounty of God, the creature Ḥusain, made efforts through the guidance of the Most High (and) Omnipotent Lord.

(4) It was completed in the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramaḍān) and the reckoning of the date was the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fiftyeight (Ramaḍān A. H. 758=August-September 1357 A.D.).

It is difficult to satisfactorily establish the identity of Ḥusain, the builder of the mosque. The inscription of the Jāmi' mosque in the same town (which is being studied hereafter) dated in the following year mentions the celebrated minister of Fīrūz Shāh and his governor of Gujarat Malik Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, whose original name was also Ḥusain. There is yet another record at Patan, dated A. H. 784 (1382 A.D.),[1] which mentions Ḥusain, son of Ismā'īl, as the builder of a mosque. Whether Ḥusain of the present record is identical either with Niẓāmu'l-Mulk or with Ḥusain, son of Ismā'īl, it is difficult to ascertain.

The third record of Fīrūz Shāh and sixth of the group also comes from Patan. Inscribed on a tablet measuring about 68 by 45 cm. which is fixed over the main gate of the Jāmi' mosque, it runs into three lines and records the construction of the mosque by Ḥusain, son of Amīr-i-Mīrān Balkhī in the year A. H. 759 (1357-58 A.D.).[2] The language of the record, except in the first line containing a Quranic verse, is Persian. The script employed is bold *Naskh* with strong *Thulth* flourishes reminiscent of the style of writing in contemporary inscriptions of Bihar.

Its text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate III(a)

(۱) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۲) تمام شد عمارة این مسجد در عهد خداوند عالم فیروز شاه السلطان

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[1] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 80. The date of this inscription falls in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, but it does not mention that monarch.

[2] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 77.

(۳) خلد الله ملکه بدست بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار حسین امیر میران بلخی در شهور سنه تسع و خمسین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh (only); hence invoke not anyone else with Allāh.'[1]

(2) The building of this mosque was completed in the reign of the master of the world, Fīrūz Shāh the king,

(3) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, at the hands of the creature, hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Ḥusain, son of Amīr-i-Mīrān Balkhī in the months of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and fiftynine (A.H. 759=1357-58 A.D.).

The builder of the mosque is identical with Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Ḥusain,[2] son of Amīr-i-Mīrān Balkhī, the celebrated minister of Fīrūz Shāh. He was among the nobles who declared their loyalty to Fīrūz when Khwāja Jahān set up a rival to the throne of Delhi on the death of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and was made in A. H. 753 the *mustawfī-i-mamālik*.[3] He was also appointed governor of Gujarat from which post he was removed by the king during the latter's stay in the province in about A. H. 767[4] after the failure of his first expedition to Thatta for the reason that Niẓāmu'l-Mulk had failed to send supplies to the king.[5] After a short time he was appointed the deputy *wazīr* of the kingdom which post he held until his death. He was also married to the sister of the king and enjoyed on this account the privilege of taking a seat along side the *wazīr* in the audience-hall.[6] The date of death of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk is not known. From the rambling account of Shams, it appears that he died sometime between A. H. 783, the date of appointment of Shamsu'd-Dīn Abū Rajā as *mustawfī-i-mamālik* and A. H. 785, the date of the latter's dismissal.[7]

The next three records of Fīrūz Shāh pertain to the same building, viz. the Ṭānka-Masjid or the old Jāmi' mosque at Dholka.[8] There is a fourth inscription in the mosque, over the prayer-niche of the women's gallery, but it only contains the famous Quranic verse pertaining to mosques (*Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18).

The inscription over the central *miḥrāb* forming the seventh record of this study is in Arabic.[9] Engraved on a slab measuring about 1·6 m. by 45 cm., it runs into three lines of writing and records the construction of the said Jāmi' mosque in 1361 A. D. during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh by the great Malik Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī, the royal *dawīdār*. The style of

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 120, has 'Ḥasan' instead of 'Ḥusain', a misprint.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 124. Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 582, has Iftikhāru'l-Mulk.

[4] I prefer this date to the generally accepted A. H. 762. See Hodīwālā, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

[5] Shams, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-20; Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 131; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa Ālih*, vol. III (London, 1928), p. 898, where perhaps due to misunderstanding of Shams's language, the name of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk is wrongly given as Nīknām, son of Amīr Ḥasan.

[6] Shams, *op. cit.*, pp. 282, 419.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 461, 464, 465, 481, 486, 497, 498. According to Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 901 and Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* (Lucknow, 1865), p. 150, Amīr Ḥusain, a son-in-law of Fīrūz, was put to death in A. H. 790 on account of his partisanship of Prince Muḥammad Shāh. It is difficult to say if these two are one and the same person.

[8] For a brief description of the mosque and texts and translations, which are faulty, of these inscriptions, see J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Broach, Cambay, Dholka, etc.* (London, 1896), p. 33; H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897), pp. 325-26; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71, where there seems to be some confusion about the actual provenance of the inscriptions; etc.

[9] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 8.

writing is *Naskh* of the conventional type and though far from being crude, does not come up to the high standard of calligraphy characteristic of some of the epigraphs studied in this article.

The text of this record reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate III(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو و الملائكة و اولوا العلم قايما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم ان الدين عند الله الاسلام المعبود هو الله و المصطفے رسول الله و القران كلام الله و الجنة رضوان الله

(۲) عمر هذا المسجد الجامع الشريف فے عهد السلطان الاعظم و القهرمان المكرم ظل الله فے الارض محی السنة و الفرض الواثق بتائيد الرحمن فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و ابد دولته

(۳) من خالص مال الملك المعظم صاحب السيف و القلم والى العام و العلم مفخر الخواص اختيار الدولة و الدين مفرح السلطانے دويدار خاص مكنه الله طلبا للثواب و كان ذلك فے العاشر من ربيع الاخر سنه اثنى و ستين و سبعمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'Allāh bears witness that there is no god but He, and (so do) the angels and those possessed of knowledge, being maintainer of justice ; there is no god but He, the Mighty, the Wise. Surely, the true religion with Allāh is Islām.'[1] The deity is Allāh, the Muṣṭafā (lit. chosen one) is the apostle of Allāh, the *Qur'ān* is the word of Allāh, and the Paradise is the pleasure of Allāh.

(2) This noble Jāmi' mosque was built in the reign of the great king and the respected champion, the shadow of Allāh on earth, the reviver of the voluntary and obligatory commands, the reliant on the support of the Beneficent Lord, Fīrūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and make his fortune last for ever,

(3) from (his own) personal money to seek (His) reward by the illustrious Malik, the lord of sword and pen, the possessor of the standard and knowledge, *Mafkharu'l-Khawāṣṣ* Ikhtiyāru'd Daulat wa'd-Dīn Mufarraḥ a's-Sulṭānī the royal *dawīdār*, may Allāh strengthen his position. And this was on the tenth of Rabī'u'l-Ākhar year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo (10th Rabī' II A. H. 762=17th February 1361 A.D.).

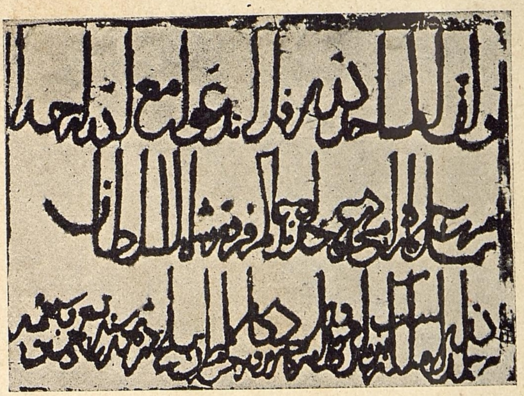
The second inscription in the Ṭānka mosque, the eighth of the present group, is fixed over the southern entrance[2] and consists of three Persian fragments containing three, four and five verses respectively. Corresponding in purport to the epigraph given above, it contains a few interesting details : It mentions the name of the town as *Dholqa* and supplies a valuable piece of information, namely, that the builder, Malik Mufarraḥ, held the post of the *nāib-i-iqṭā'* of the city of Cambay.

This epigraphical tablet measures 1·1 m. by 38 cm. The style of writing is *Naskh* representing a somewhat better specimen than the one employed in the previous record.

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter III, verse 17 and part of verse 18.

[2] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 9.

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 759, from Patan (p. 8)



SCALE : ·12

(*b*) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 762, from Dholka (p. 10)

SCALE : ·18

(*c*) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 762, same place (p. 11)

The complete text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate III(c)

(۱) بنا کرد ست این مسجد ز فیض فضل یزدانی
بعهد دولت شاه جهان فیروز سلطانے
ز مال خالص خود مفخر الخواص و الامرا
مفرح بنده فیروز شاه اسکندر ثانی
دهم رفت از ربیع‌الاخر این جامع مرتب شد
بسال هفصد و شست و دو از تائید رحمانے

(۲) بعهد سکندر زمان شهر یار جهان‌گیر فیروز شه نامدار
یکی مکرمی خاسته نیک نام مفرح ملک شاه را دوتدار
بنا کرده در دهولقه مسجدے بتوفیق آن قادر کردگار

(۳) ز هجرت بده هفصدوشست ودو کے این خیر شد در جهان پایدار
جز این مقام مقدس چنین عمارت خوب
ندیده دیدهٔ گیتی و چرخ سرگردان
بدور دولت فیروز شاه روی زمین
کے هست درگه او سجده‌گاه جمله شهان

(۴) بوقت نایب اقطاع شهر کهنبایت
دگر اخص دوتدار بندهٔ سلطان
ملک مفرح اعظم بجود حاتم طی
برزم رستم ثانے بعدل نوشیروان
تمام گشت ز فضل الاه از هجرت
بدست هفصد و شست و دو سال از دوران

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque has been built through the bounty of Divine grace in the period of the reign of the king of the world Fīrūz Sulṭānī,

from his personal property by the pride of the elite and the nobles, Mufarraḥ, (who is) the servant of Fīrūz Shāh the second Alexander.

Ten days had passed from Rabī' II (when) this Jāmi' (mosque) was constructed in the year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo, through the support of the Merciful.

(2) In the reign of the Alexander of the time, the king, the world-conquering illustrious Fīrūz Shāh,

one noble of good name appeared (viz.) Malik Mufarraḥ, the *dawtdār* (royal inkstand-bearer) to the king.

He constructed in Dholqa a mosque through the grace of the Omnipotent Creator.

(3) It was (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtytwo from the Migration (of the Prophet) when this bountiful place was established in the world.

Except this holy place, such a beautiful building has not been seen by the eye of the world and the wandering sphere.

In the time of the rule of Fīrūz, the king of the surface of the earth whose court is the place where all the kings make prostration

(4) (and) in the time of the *nāib* (deputy) of the *iqṭā'* (district) of the city of Khambāyat (Cambay) (who was) also the chief (lit. the most favoured) *dawtdār* (inkstand-bearer) (and) slave of the king,

(viz.) Malik Mufarraḥ the great, (who is) Ḥātim-i-Ṭayy in generosity, Rustam in warfare (and) Naushīrwān in justice,

(this mosque) was completed through Divine favour (when) from the Migration (of the Prophet) seven hundred and sixtytwo years (A.H. 762=1361 A.D.) had passed from the time.

The third inscription on the mosque, also in Persian verse, forms the ninth record of this study and is built up to the left of northern entrance.[1] The tablet measuring 1.16 m. by 41 cm. contains a fragment of six verses with one more verse inscribed in small letters at the bottom of the slab. The contents of this record are same as those in the previous two epigraphs with the difference that it gives a poetic description of the material—brick, clay and mortar (*gach*) used in the construction. The poetical fragment of the text was composed by one Ya'qūb as stated in the last line inscribed in minute characters. The style of writing is same as in the last record but here the letters are bigger.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV (a)

(۱) بعهد دولت فیروز شاه اسکندر ثانی

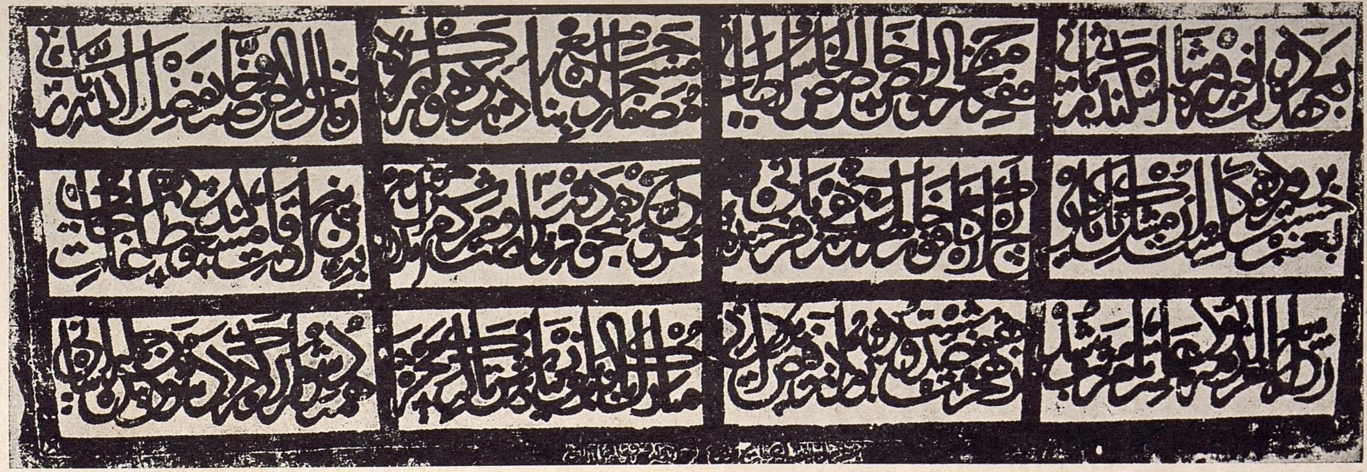
مفرح مفخر الخواص خاص الخاص سلطانی

مصفا مسجد جامع بنا در دهولقه کرده

زمال خالص و خاصه بفضل الله ربانی

[1] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 10.

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 762, from Dholka (p. 12)



SCALE : ·18

(*b*) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 765, from Patan (p. 15)

SCALE : ·22

(۲) بعنبرخشت پرورده گلست از مشک تاتاری
گچ از کافور خام امد زهے فرخندهٔ بانی
مروح همچو فردوس است و مردم اندرش خورم
به پنج اوقات مشغولند بے طاعات ربانی
(۳) ربیع الاخر از مه بود عاشر تا مرتب شد
ز هجرت هفصد و شست و دو بود از فیض یزدانی
مبارک باد بربانی بناءش تا گه محشر
همه دشوار رد گردد شود پس جمله آسانی
(۴) نبشته بنده یعقوب این صفات مسجد جامع
بعهد دولت فیروز شاهنشاه سلطانی

TRANSLATION

(1) In the period of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh the second Alexander, Mufarraḥ, the pride of the elite, the favourite of the favourites of the king,

constructed in Dholqa a refined Jāmi' mosque exclusively out of his personal money through the bounty of Allāh the Nourisher.

(2) (Its) brick (is) treated with ambergris, its clay is of Tartary-musk (and) its mortar (is) of raw camphor. How fortunate is the builder!

It is refreshing like paradise and people are happily busy therein offering devotion to the Glorified Lord five times (a day).

(3) The month was Rabī' II and (it was) tenth (day) (and) seven hundred and sixtytwo from the Migration (of the Prophet) (10th Rabī' II A.H. 762=17th February 1361 A.D.), when it was completed by the bounty of God.

May its construction be auspicious for the builder till the time of Resurrection! May all the difficulties be removed and everything be then easy (for him)!

(4) The creature Ya'qūb has composed (this fragment containing) the praises of the Jāmi' mosque, during the time of the rule of the emperor Fīrūz Sulṭānī.

Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī mentioned in the above three records figures prominently in the history of Gujarat. We first hear of him in connection with his appointment to the deputy governorship of Gujarat in A.H. 778, consequent to the death of Shamsu'd-Dīn Dāmghānī.[1] He is reported next to have killed Malik Ya'qūb Sikandar Khān, the newly appointed governor, who came to

[1] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 133. But Shams, *op. cit.*, p. 497, puts the date of the revolt of Dāmghānī in A.H. 782. Also Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 46, Nadvī, *op. cit.*, p. 175 and others have stated that Malik Mufarraḥ was appointed governor of Gujarat which does not seem to be correct. Yaḥyā who is the primary source for the event uses the word "نیابت" which does not convey the sense of governorship. It appears that Ẓafar Khān son of Ẓafar Khān Fārsī, continued as governor of Gujarat until his death in Rajab A.H. 789. It was only then that Malik Ya'qūb was given the title of Sikandar Khān and sent to Gujarat as governor to succeed Ẓafar Khān. Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 898, while narrating the events of A.H. 778 in connection with Dāmghānī's death clearly states that Ẓafar Khān was the governor of Gujarat at that time.

Gujarat in A.H. 789. He was subsequently confirmed in the governorship and continued to hold that high office until his death in A.H. 793 in the battle with Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, who was sent to supercede him.[1] Yaḥyā also mentions him as *Amīr* of Cambay.[2]

The three epigraphs quoted above and a few more that will be described later supply important data for the career of Malik Mufarraḥ. From the above records it is clear that Malik Mufarraḥ was already a noble of first rank in A.H. 761. His *laqab* which is not mentioned in historical works was Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn and he held the office of royal *dawīdār* or *dawātdār* (inkstand-bearer). He was then the deputy *muqṭi'* of the city of Cambay. According to another inscription he was the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'* of Cambay (p. 19) in A.H. 782; evidently, he was promoted to that office before the date of this record. He is also mentioned therein with the titles *ra'īs-i-mamālik* and *dawīdār-i-khāṣṣ*. Another inscription dated in the following year mentions him as the 'prop of the kings and ministers', *ra'īs-i-mamālik, dawīdār-i-khāṣṣ* (p. 21). A third inscription, also from Cambay, records a few more honorific phrases and titles like *Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq, sipah-kash-i-zamān, Farḥatu'l-Mulk*, etc.[3] Now since these data indicate that Malik Mufarraḥ was the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'* of Cambay in A.H. 782, how could he have succeeded to the governorship of Gujarat in A.H. 778 as stated by the above-mentioned writers?[4] Also Yaḥyā is apparently misinformed when he states that Malik Mufarraḥ was also awarded the title of Farḥatu'l-Mulk in A.H. 778.[5] If that were the case, the Cambay record of A.H. 782 mentioning him as the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'* of Cambay would have certainly used that title. From the epigraphical data it appears that the title Farḥatu'l-Mulk was conferred on Malik Mufarraḥ sometime after A.H. 782 if not in, A. H. 787, the date of the third Cambay record. Also the fact that Malik Mufarraḥ enjoyed the exalted position of the *dawīdār-i-khāṣṣ* right from A.H. 761 is not mentioned in historical records.[6]

The above versified inscriptions also help us to establish the correct pronunciation of Malik Mufarraḥ's name which has been transcribed as Malik Mufriḥ by Sir Denison Ross.[7] Incidentally it may be pointed out that none of these records refer to the title Rāstī Khān alleged to have been conferred upon Malik Mufarraḥ.[8] Likewise, the name Niẓām-i-Mufarraḥ used for him in later works is also not corroborated by the epigraphical evidence.[9]

The tenth inscription of the group is a new record of Fīrūz Shāh found at Patan (N.G.). The marble tablet bearing this epigraph measures 50 by 28 cm. and is built into the west wall of the Kālī-Bāzār mosque in the town.[10] The inscription is evidently not *in situ*.

[1] For details of his career, see Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 142; Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 900-01; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-49.

[2] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

[3] An epitaph on a loose slab at Rajpuri in Kolaba district of Maharashtra (*ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 154) refers to the demise in A.H. 768 (1366 A.D.) of a young son of Malik Mufarraḥ, 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Alī. If this tablet belongs to that place it would mean that Malik Mufarraḥ had, if he did not actually belong to Konkan, some association with that region.

[4] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, p. 898, explicitly says that Malik Mufarraḥ was given the lease of the revenue of Gujarat but the governor was Daryā Khān entitled Ẓafar Khān. In other words, he was the deputy of the latter.

[5] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, Firishta, *op. cit.*

[6] According to Hodīwālā, *op. cit.*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 150, as 'Mufarraḥ signifies exhilarating and is also used for any cordial or stimulant like wine, this man may have been the Sulṭān's cup-bearer or *sharābdār* (Butler)'. But this seems to be far-fetched.

[7] Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. lxxvi.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 901, 903; Sikandar, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī* (Baroda, 1961), pp. 14, 15.

[9] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, Firishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79.

[10] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 98. The mosque contains another inscription of the Rajput period (p. 2, f.n.1, *infra*).

Its text consists of four lines of writing in Persian purporting that the mosque was constructed by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, son of Khān-i-A'zam Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek in 1364 A.D. This inscription is thus another valuable record furnishing an important link in the chain of major officials of Gujarat. Malik Fakhru'd-Dīn's father Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek, a noble of eminence under Fīrūz Shāh,[1] is mentioned in the text as 'deceased', thus indicating that he had died before the close of the year A.H. 765, the date of our record. Also, the use of the titles *Malik-i-Mu'azzam* and *Khān-i-A'zam* for the son and father respectively is worth notice.

The epigraph is executed in *Naskh* style of writing which resembles the script of the Ṭānka mosque inscriptions studied above but is not so refined. It reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

(۱) عمارت کرد این مسجد را در عهد خداوند عالمپناه

(۲) ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه

(۳) ملک معظم فخرالدولة و الدین بن خان اعظم شیر خان محمود بک

(۴) مرحوم طیب الله ثراه فی الرابع و العشرین من ذی الحجه سنه خمس و ستین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of the lord, the shelter of the world,

(2) Abu'l-Muzaffar Fīrūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom,

(3) by Malik-i-Mu'azzam Fakhru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, son of Khān-i-A'zam Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek

(4) the deceased, may Allāh sanctify his grave, on the twentyforth of Dhi'l-Ḥijja, year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixtyfive (24th Dhi'l-Ḥijja A.H. 765=22nd September 1364 A.D.).

The eleventh inscription of this study is from Una, a village in the Junagadh district.[2] The inscriptional slab is now fixed into the outer face of the east wall of the small tomb adjoining the water tank (*ḥauḍ*) in the enclosure of Ḥaḍrat Shāh Pīr's Dargāh.[3] There is also a mosque in the compound said to have been reconstructed on the site of an ancient mosque to which very likely our inscription belonged.

The epigraphical tablet measures 67 by 44 cm. and seems to have been subjected to inclemencies of weather for a long time, since the writing is badly damaged. The text is in Persian verse and comprises a fragment of seven verses which are incised on the stone (and not engraved in relief as is generally the case) in *Naskh* characters. The quality of the verse is unfortunately quite mediocre.

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[1] For the career of Sher Khān Maḥmūd Bek, see Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 545, 583 (who states that when he wrote—i.e. in about A.H. 758—Sher Khān was more than ninety years old); Shams, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87 Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 120-22 ; etc.

[2] For an account of Una and its history, see *BG*, vol. VIII (Bombay, 1884), pp. 667-68.

[3] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 160.

The eye-reading of the text of this epigraph published by Major J.W. Watson in 1879 is hopelessly corrupt.[1] Equally faulty reading was reproduced in the corpus of inscriptions published by the erstwhile state of Bhavnagar.[2] But since its facsimile was not published, the corrupt readings remained uncorrected.

The epigraph mentions the celebrated governor of Gujarat, Ẓafar Khān Fārsī,[3] as having constructed a mosque in 1367 A.D. It further states that Ẓafar Khān's name and popular name (*laqab*) were Muḥammad and Tāj[4] respectively and that he was from Fārs.[5] It also records the fact that he was awarded the title Ẓafar Khān by Fīrūz Shāh.[6]

Its text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) هو العلام

(۲) بعهد دولت فرخندهٔ شهنشه عصر   خدایگان فلک منزلت سلیمانجاه

(۳) ابو المظفر فیروز شاه جم تمکین   جهان پناه زحل بارگاه ظل الاه

(۴) بملک او همه بقعات خیر شد معمور   بسلک طاعتش اصحاب دین بذروهٔ ماه

(۵) بچهارده ز مه روزه سال هفصد شست   بران ز(؟) هشت زیادت که بندهٔ درگاه

(۶) محمد اسم و لقب تاج نسبت ؟ از فارس   خطاب کرده ظفرخان ز لطف حضرت شاه

(۷) [ا]میدوار ز مراد شه ؟ از برای نماز   بناء کرده بتوفیق این (؟) مصلاگاه

(۸) همیشه باد اباد این عمارت خیر   که هست حسن عمل تا بود سپهر دوتاه(؟)

(۹) آمین رب العالمین

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Omniscient.

(2) In the reign of the auspicious government of the emperor of the time, the lord of heavenly rank and Solomon-like dignity

(3) Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh of Jam-like strength, the shelter of the world whose audience-hall is Saturn and (who is) the shadow of Allāh——

(4) in his kingdom works of public utility were commonly built (and) in the chain of his service, men of religion reached the pinnacle of the moon——

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII (1879), p. 182.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari* (Bhavnagar, 1879), p. 3.

[3] For Ẓafar Khān, see Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 583 ; Shams, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-142, 156, 158, 162, 206-07, 225, 133-35 ; Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 131 ; etc

[4] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, is the only author who gives the name of Ẓafar Khān but in the printed text, p. 126, his name Muḥammad is followed by the word ' کر '.

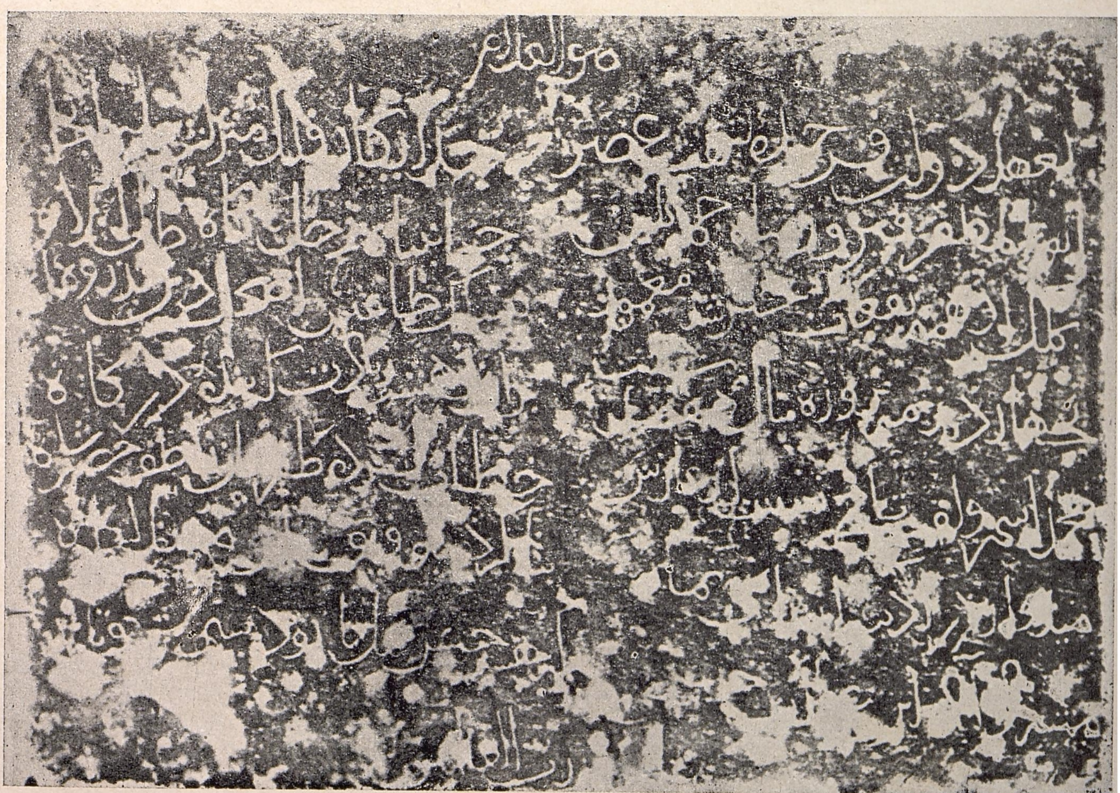
[5] Fārs is a province in south Iran.

[6] Cf. Shams, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

(*a*) Epigraph of Fīrūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 772, from Kapadwanj (p. 17)

SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 768, from Una (p. 16)



(5) (it was) on the fourteenth of the month of Fasting (i.e. Ramaḍān) in the year (A.H.) seven hundred sixty and in addition eight (14th Ramaḍān A.H. 768=14th May 1367 A.D.) when the servant of the king

(6) Muḥammad by name and with surname Tāj, a native of Fārs (a province in Iran), (on whom) His Majesty the king by his kindness conferred the title Ẓafar Khān,

(7) hopeful of the generosity of the king(?) constructed for prayers through (divine) Grace this house of prayers.

(8) May this noble edifice remain prosperous for ever as long as the double-bent sky endures since it is (the result of) a good action.

The next epigraph, twelfth of the present group, comes from Kapadwanj[1] in District Kaira and is another unpublished record of Fīrūz Shāh. It also belongs to the period of Ẓafar Khān's governorship of Gujarat. The tablet bearing this inscription measures 85 by 38 cms. and is fixed over the main entrance of the Jāmi' mosque of the town.[2] The record consists of three verses in Persian and states that in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, the great Ẓafar Khān constructed this mosque in 1370-71 A.D. An additional line in Persian prose, inscribed vertically in the left margin contains the name of Uthmān, son of Kamāl *Khaṭṭāṭ*, the scribe of the text and of Ḥusām, son of 'Imād, the supervisor of the construction.

Another remarkable aspect of this record is its style of writing which is bold *Naskh* in relief. While in broad outline, it conforms to the style of some of the other records of this age in Gujarat, it has nevertheless a distinctive feature of its own. The pronounced volume, particularly in the rounded portion of its letters which are written thicker in the middle than at the end, the latter being pointed, brings this style nearer to the *Bihār* variety from which it would be difficult to distinguish it, were the ends drawn blunt.

The epigraph has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(۱) بعهد همایون فیروز شاه — که از فضل حق باد دایم بکام

(۲) ظفر خان اعظم بتوفیق حق — ز بهر عبادت بکرد این مقام

(۳) سنه اثنی و سبعین و سبعمایه — شد این مسجد جنت آسا تمام

In the left border.

کتب العبد عثمان کمال خطاط غفر الله له و لجمیع المسلمین و بکار فرمائی حسام عماد

TRANSLATION

(1) In the blessed reign of Fīrūz Shāh, may he be always successful through the bounty of God,

(2) Ẓafar Khān the great through divine guidance constructed this place for the sake of devotion (prayers).

[1] For an account of Kapadwanj and its history, please see *BG*, vol. III (Bombay, 1879), pp. 171-73.

[2] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 47. There is another epigraph, obviously not *in situ*, in the northern wall of the mosque, for which see *ibid.*, No. C, 48.

(3) (In) the year (A.H.) seven hundred and seventytwo (A. H. 772=1370-71 A. D.), this paradise-like mosque was completed.

In the left border.

Written by the creature Uthmān (son of) Kamāl the *khattāt* (calligrapher), may Allāh forgive him and all the Muslims, and under the supervision of Ḥusām (son of) 'Imād.

The thirteenth epigraph, also hitherto unpublished, is inscribed in three lines of Arabic writing on a tablet measuring 1·1 m. by 55 cm. which is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the Khirnī mosque at Dholka.[1] It begins as well as ends with religious texts and states that the mosque was constructed in 1373 A. D. by the great and illustrious Malik Sharafu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Suhrāb Ẓafar Khānī, the *sarpardadār*. It may be pointed out that the epithets and titles used for the king in this epigraph are the same as those to be found in the Ṭānka mosque inscription set up four years earlier (p. 10).

The style of writing of the record is *Naskh* with elongated vertical shafts of its letters, a distinctive feature of the famous bow-and-arrow style of Bengal inscriptions.

The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا عمر هذا المسجد
الشريف الملك المعظم المكرم بعون عنايت ربانے اعنی مفخر الخواص

(۲) شرف الدوله و الدين سهراب ظفر خانے سرپردہدار مكنه الله طلبا للثواب فے عهد
السلطان الاعظم و القهرمان المعظم ظل الله فی الارض محی السنه و الفرض

(۳) الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و ابد دولته و
ذلك فی التاريخ الخامس عشر من المحرم سنة خمس و سبعين و سبعمايه قال عليه السلام
المساجد بيوت المتقين

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh (only) ; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.'[2] This noble mosque was built by the Malik (who has become) great and illustrious through the help of the bounty of the Nourisher, namely *Mafkharu'l-Khawāṣṣ*

(2) Sharafu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Suhrāb Ẓafar Khānī, *sarpardadār*, may Allāh grant him strength, by way of seeking reward, in the reign of the great king and illustrious champion, the shadow of Allāh on earth, the reviver of voluntary and obligatory commandments,

(3) the reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and make his rule last for ever. And this took place on the fifteenth of

[1] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 11.
[2] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18,

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Tug̲h̲luq, dated A.H. 775, from Dholka (p. 18)

SCALE : ·17

(*b*) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 782, from Cambay (p. 19)

SCALE : ·16

Muḥarram, year (A. H.) seven hundred and seventyfive (15th Muḥarram A. H. 775=7th July 1373 A. D.). The Prophet has said, 'The mosques are houses of the pious.'

This inscription furnishes the name of another official of the pre-Sultanate Gujarat and is therefore of considerable importance. Malik Suhrāb held the high post of *sarpardadār* (chief curtain-bearer) and his title was Sharafu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn. Unfortunately no information is available in the record about the exact office Malik Suhrāb had held in Gujarat. His sobriquet *Ẓafar Khānī* tends to indicate that he was a senior official under Ẓafar Khān or his son Daryā Khān, also entitled Ẓafar Khān, who was appointed to the governorship of Gujarat in A. H. 773 on his father's death.[1]

The fourteenth inscription of the series is fixed to the left of the central *miḥrāb* of the mosque situated in the Qāḍīwāda quarter at Cambay.[2] Locally known as Billī-Masjid, the mosque is an ordinary structure without any distinctive architectural features. There are two more inscriptions on the mosque and yet another on a loose fragmentary door-frame.[3] The earliest of these, dated A. H. 726 (1326 A.D.), is engraved on the base-stone of the left *miḥrāb* indicating that the original building was constructed then. Therefore, it is doubtful if our record is *in situ*.

The epigraph is another unpublished record of Fīrūz Shāh and refers to the construction of a mosque in 1380 A. D. by one 'Abdu'llāh, son of Jamālu'd-Dīn, son of Sa'du'd-Dīn Harīwī.[4] It also mentions Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī, entitled Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn and holding the post of *dawīdār*[5]*-i-khāṣṣ*, as the *muqṭi'* of the *iqṭā'* of Cambay. The language of the record is mainly Persian. Comprising five lines of writing occupying a space of about 1·2 m. by 40 cm., the inscription is remarkable for its extremely elegant calligraphy. The script employed is basically *Naskh* with strong *Riqā'* and *Thulth* flourishes and betrays an expert hand. It is unfortunate that the scribe of such a fine piece of calligraphy should have preferred to remain anonymous.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا و قال عليه السلم من بنى مسجدا لله و لو كمفحص قطاة بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة

(۲) بارى جل و علا بركت حضرت رسالت عليه افضل الصلوة و اكمل التحيات عمارت مسجد در عهد همايون و ايام ميمون خداوند عالم سلطان عادل ابو المظفر

(۳) فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه كے خير العهود و الازمانست بحكومة اختيار الدولة و الدين ملك مفرح سلطانى دويدار خاص و رئيس ممالك و

[1] There is no unanimity among the historians about Ẓafar Khān's date of death. See Hodīwālā, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

[2] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 50 ; *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle* (*PRWC*), 1919-20, p. 58.

[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. D, 49, 51, 52.

[4] *PRWC*, *op. cit.*, gives *Harnawī*. '*Hariwī*' is one belonging to ' هريو ', ancient name of Hirāt now in Afghanistan.

[5] *Ibid.* has 'Dūbdār'.

(۴) مقطع اقطاع کھنبایت اعلے الله درجته بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار عبدالله بن مرحوم جمال الدین بن مغفور سعدالدین هریوی را میسر گردانید بمنه و کرمه

(۵) فی الغره من شهر المبارک رمضان عمت برکاته سنه اثنین و ثمانین و سبعمایة الهجریه النبویة حامداً لله و مصلیاً علی رسوله

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence invoke not anyone else with Allāh.'[1] And (the Prophet), may peace be upon him, has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, even though it be (as small) as the nest of the *Qaṭāt* bird, Allāh builds for him a house in paradise.'

(2-4) God, may He be glorified and exalted, through the blessings of (His) holy messenger, may (Allāh's) choicest blessings and best salutations be upon him, by His Grace and Favour rendered possible for the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Creator, 'Abdu'llāh, son of the late Jamālu'd-Dīn, son of the pardoned Sa'du'd-Dīn Harīwī (i.e. of Herat), the construction of the mosque in the auspicious time and blessed period—which is the best of the times and periods—of the lord of the earth, the just king Abu'l-Muẕaffar Fīrūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, during the governorship of Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī the *dawīdār-i-khāṣṣ* and *ra'īs-i-mamālik* and *muqṭi'* (i.e. governor) of the *iqṭā'* (i.e. district) of *Khambāyat* (i.e. Cambay), may Allāh elevate his position,

(5) on the first of the blessed month of Ramaḍān, may its bounty be universal, of the Hijra year of the Prophet seven hundred and eightytwo (1st Ramaḍān A. H. 782=29th November 1380 A. D.). (This is ended) by way of a praise to Allāh and salutations on His messenger.

It is difficult to trace the identity of 'Abdu'llāh Harīwī, the builder of the mosque.

The fifteenth inscription of this study is fixed into the 'Īdgah at Cambay.[2] Engraved in ordinary but bold *Naskh* characters in relief on a tablet measuring 1·5 m. by 51 cm., the epigraph runs into three lines of Persian prose and records the construction of the *'Īdgāh* in 1381-82 A. D. during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh by Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī who has been already mentioned in the preceding lines.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate VII (a)

(۱) در عهد سلطان اعظم بادشاه معظم مالک رقاب الامم ظل الله فی العالم ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه

(۲) بنی کرد این نمازگاه عید امیر کبیر موید مفخر الملوک و الامرا عمدة السلاطین و الوزرا ذو المناقب و المحامد

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] *ARIE*, 1959-60, No. D, 134. An English translation of this record will be found in Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(۳) [اختیار الدولة و الدین][1] ملکک مفرح سلطانی دوتدار خاص و رئیس ممالکک اعلی

الله رفعته و ابد دولته سنه ثالث و ثمانین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the great king, the illustrious ruler, the lord of the necks of nations, the shadow of Allāh on the earth, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom,

(2) this place of 'Īd-prayers (*namāzgāh-i-'Īd*) was constructed by the great noble, the pride of the kings and nobles, the prop of the rulers and ministers, one who is possessed of laudable qualities and virtues,

(3) Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī *dawtdār-*, i.e. *dawīdār-i-khāṣṣ* and *ra'īs-i- mamālik*, may Allāh further elevate his high position and perpetuate his government, in the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightythree (A.H. 783=1381-82 A.D.).

The importance of the above two inscriptions in determining the career of Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī in Gujarat has been already discussed above (pp. 13-14).

The sixteenth inscription of the present study, an extremely important record, is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the Fatḥ-Masjid or Ṭekrewālī-Masjid as it is now called, at Parantij[2] in Sabarkantha district.[3] This epigraph is yet another unpublished record of Fīrūz Shāh and consists of two lines of writing mainly in Persian. The tablet measures 85 by 30 cm.

The epigraph records the construction of a noble edifice—obviously the mosque—in 1382 A. D. during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. But what makes the epigraph one of the most valuable records found in recent times is that it quotes the name of the builder as Hammū, son of Dūdā Sūmara, who from circumstantial evidence appears to be none other than the so-called Hamīr, the last of the Sūmara rulers of Sind. He is said to have been overthrown by the Sammas sometime in the beginning of the second half of the fourteenth century. While the history of the Sūmaras and their decline and displacement by the Sammas is still shrouded in vagueness, reliable contemporary evidence, in particular a letter from 'Ainu'l-Mulk-i-Māhrū to the governor of Gujarat, has been cited to show that the Sūmaras were finally overpowered in the early years of the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq.[4] In his letter, 'Ainu'l-Mulk, the contemporary governor of Multan, refers to the calamities that had befallen the last Sūmara king whose name is transcribed as Hamīr, and the patronage and the generous care bestowed on him by the Gujarat governor whose brother Malik Ruknu'd-Dīn Ḥasan was entrusted with the proper care of the deposed Sūmara ruler by Fīrūz Tughluq.[5] However, the place where the Sūmara king was kept—Delhi or Gujarat—is not specified in this letter. But in view of the fact that the whole letter is devoted to the affairs of Gujarat and refers to the danger of the Sammas to that province, it stands to reason that the Sūmara chief was allotted a fief in Gujarat. In any case, the epigraph indicates that in A. H. 784 (1382 A. D.) Hammū Sūmara was in Gujarat.

[1] The lower portions of the letters have flaked off in this part, but the reading can be clearly made out.

[2] For an account of Parantij, please see *BG*, vol. IV, pp. 341-47.

[3] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 75; *PRWC*, 1919-20, p. 52, where the name of the builder is quoted as Hammûd and the date A. H. 884.

[4] Riyāzu'l-Islām, 'The Rise of the Sammas in Sind', *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, vol. XXII, pp. 359-82. The letter referred to above was not addressed to the governor of Sind as stated in one place by Dr. A. K. Majumdar in R. C. Majumdar, ed. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), p. 224.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 361.

The record under study thus provides extremely important and, we may say, definite information about the fate of the Sūmara chief. What is still more important is the fact that it gives the correct form of the name Hammū and the tribal name Sūmara. As we know, the last name of the Sūmara king is recorded in historical works as Hamīr or Hāmīr.[1] The correct spelling of the name as inscribed in our record is Hammū. Likewise, as regards Sūmara, Riyāzu'l-Islām states that 'Sumera is written as Sumira (سمره), Sumēra (سميره) and Sumērā (سميرا) .... I have followed .... Sumera.'[2] The spelling of this word is clearly written " سومره " in the text and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. Therefore, the correct form of the tribal name is 'Sūmara' whose last '*a*' in Roman transliteration of the Arabic letter '*hā*' is even today pronounced *ā* as in Urdu. The pronunciation 'Sūmarā' has been common in Gujarat and presumably in Sind too.

Particular attention may also be drawn to the style of writing employed by the designer. Any student of Perso-Arabic epigraphy of India will be struck with the similarity between the calligraphy of this record and that of the pre-Tughluq and Tughluq inscriptions from Bihar. The graceful curves and sweeps of the letters carved here vividly recall to mind the highly stylized execution of ornamental *Naskh* with strong *Tughrā* and other flourishes that is the high watermark of the Bihar inscriptions. This similarity between the calligraphical styles practised at the extreme ends of the empire—Gujarat and Bihar—may not be as coincidental as one would like to think. It has been suggested by me elsewhere that of all the provinces of India, Gujarat and Bengal (which then included Bihar) have definite affinities as far as palaeography is concerned.[3]

The text of the record has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate VII (c)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال الله تعالى و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا اين بقعه شريف بنا كرده همو دودا سومره

(۲) در عهد فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه در ماه مبارك رمضان سنه اربع و ثمانين و سبعمايه و الله اعلم بالصواب

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.'[4] This noble edifice was constructed by Hammū, (son of) Dūdā Sūmara

(2) in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh the king, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, in the auspicious month of Ramaḍān of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightyfour (Ramaḍān A.H. 784= November-December 1382 A.D.). And Allāh knows the truth best.

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[1] Islām, *op. cit.*, pp. 361, 362 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 360 f.n.

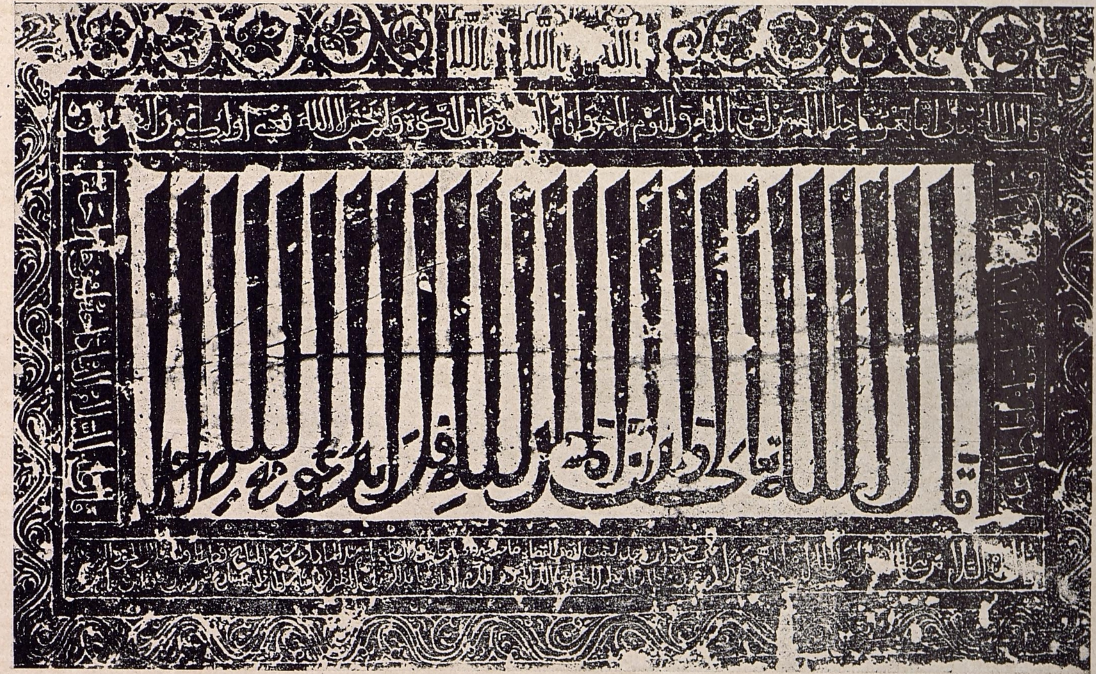
[3] *EIAPS*, 1961, pp. 2-3.

[4] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(*a*) Record of Fīrūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 783, from Cambay (p. 20)

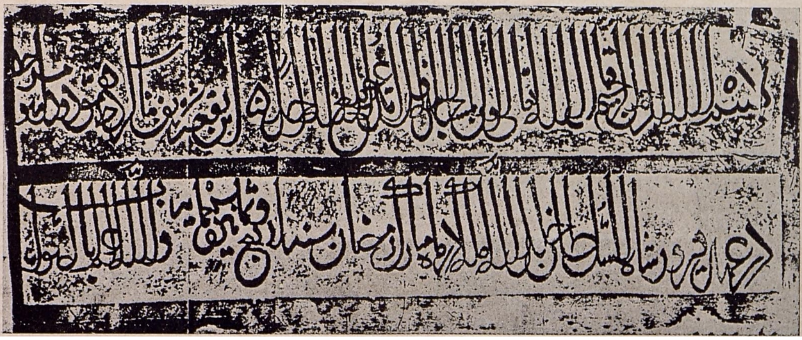
SCALE : ·09

(*b*) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 784, from Mangrol (p. 23)



SCALE : ·2

(*c*) Another record of Fīrūz, dated A.H. 784, from Parantij (p. 22)



The seventeenth epigraph of the series also dated in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq is not without palaeographical interest. The inscriptional tablet measuring 94 by 50 cm. is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of a very neat little mosque called Raḥmat-Masjid, situated to the north-east of the town of Mangrol, capital of the erstwhile state of the same name[1] and now a *tāluka* headquarters in the Junagadh district.[2] The text and translation of this record were first published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Bhavnagari*, but they are not free from mistakes. For example, the name and designation of the builder have been respectively read there as 'Qāḍī al-Quṭb' and 'Afḍalu'l-Quḍāt' instead of 'Qāḍī Jalāl Quṭb' and 'Aqḍa'l-Quḍāt'. The name of the scribe 'Umar bin Ādam' has also been left unread.[3] Moreover, the inscription has not been illustrated so far. A glance at its plate will show that its execution is somewhat unusual. The striking contrast between the calligraphy in the large rectangle within borders and that in the borders on the four sides has a picturesque effect. But for the size of the letters and manner of engraving, however, the style of writing is uniform *Naskh*.

The inscription records that the Raḥmat-Masjid was built by the chief of the Qāḍīs, Qāḍī Jalāl, son of Quṭb, in memory of the celebrated saint Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī commonly known as Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahāngasht, in 1382-83 A.D.

The full text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate VII (*b*)

(*a*) *In the upper border.*

i Top side :

يا الله يا الله يا الله

ii Bottom side :

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الاخر و اقام الصلوة و آتى

الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسے اولئك [ان يكونوا] من المهتدين

(*b*) *In the centre.*

قال الله تعالے و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(*c*) *Side borders.*

i Right panel :

قال عليه السلام الدنيا ساعة فاجعلها طاعة

ii Left panel :

قال عليه السلام الدنيا داحة ليس فيها راحة

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1 For an account of Mangrol, its buildings and inscriptions, see *BG*, vol. VIII, pp. 542-43 ; *PRWC*, 1998-99, pp. 15-16 ; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-77 ; *EIAPS*, 1953 and 54, pp. 54, 57, 59 ; etc.

2 *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 150.

3 *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 73, has given the gist of this record on the basis of the reading of the *Corpus*. An incomplete Gujarati rendering is also quoted in Nadvī, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

(*d*) *In the lower border.*

قال علیه السلام من بنی لله مسجدا بنی الله له فی الجنة قصرا بنی کرد این مسجد

رحمت اقضی القضاة صاحب الخیر و الحسنات قاضی جلال قطب باسم سید السادات شیخ المشائخ

قطب الاولیاء جلال الحق و الشرع و الدین در عهد سلطان الاعظم المعظم مالک الجود و

الکرم الواثق بتائید الرحمن ابو المظفر فیروز شاه سلطان خلد ملکه بتاریخ شهور سنه اربع و

ثمانین و سبعمایه کتب شیخ عمر ابن آدم

TRANSLATION

(*a*) i. O Allāh! O Allāh! O Allāh!

ii. Allāh the Exalted says, 'Only he shall visit the mosques of Allāh, who believes in Allāh and in the Final Day (i.e. day of Judgment), establishes prayers, gives alms and fears none but Allāh; so (as for these) they would be among the followers of the right course.'[1]

(*b*) Allāh the Exalted says, 'And verily, mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not (therein) any one else with Allāh.'[2]

(*c*) i. (The Prophet), may (Allāh's) peace be on him, has said, 'The world is (for a) moment only; utilize it in devotion.'

ii. (The Prophet), may (Allāh's) peace be on him, has said, 'The world is a gewgaw; there is no rest therein.'

(*d*) (The Prophet), may (Allah's) peace be on him, has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise.' This Raḥmat mosque was constructed by the *aqḍa'l-quḍāt* (i.e. chief of the judges), master of bounty and good actions, Qāḍī Jalāl (son of) Quṭb in the name of *Sayyidu's-sādāt* (i.e. chief of the elites), *Shaikhu'l-mashāikh* (i.e. learned among the learned), *Quṭbu'l-awliyā* (i.e. pivot among the saints), Jalālu'l-Ḥaq wa'sh-Shar' wa'd-Dīn in the reign of the great and illustrious monarch, the lord of munificence and generosity, the reliant on the support of the Compassionate, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh, the sulṭān, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom, in the days of the months of the year (A.H.) seven hundred and eightyfour (A.H. 784=1382-83 A.D.). Written by Shaikh 'Umar, son of Ādam.

About Qāḍī Jalāl, son of Quṭb, the builder of the mosque[3] we do not possess any information. In the inscription he is mentioned as chief of the Qāḍīs, but it is difficult to verify whether he actually held that post or the title is merely honorific. It is probable that he held the post of a Qāḍī, if not of the province, at least of the region. Likewise, the identity of Shaikh 'Umar, son of Ādam, who copied this record on the stone cannot be established.

The eighteenth inscription of this series also belongs to the reign of Fīrūz Shāh and was published in the *Corpus*.[4] Now set up to the right of the pulpit in the Jāmi' mosque at Mangrol,[5]

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter IX, verse 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[3] According to Nadvī, *op. cit.*, 'the saint Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jalālu'd-Dīn came to Mangrol at about this time and must have constructed this mosque, as the Jāmi' mosque was not yet built.' It is difficult to ascertain the truth of the saint's visit, but certainly the mosque was not built by him.

[4] *CIB*, *op. cit.*, p. 11. Its reading is almost correct and has been reproduced in Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 73, Nadvī, *op. cit.*, p. 167, also gives a Gujarati translation.

[5] *ARIE* 1954-55. No. C, 151.

the marble tablet bearing this inscription was reported to have been built up in the side wall of the Bohra's mosque in the eighties of the last century.[1] According to some, the epigraph belonged to the Jāmi' mosque from where the tablet, then having been dislodged from its original position, was removed to the Bohra's mosque nearby to save it from being lost.[2] But the truth of this statement could not be ascertained. It may be worthwhile to point out that the Jāmi' mosque is a building of great architectural interest being one of the few mosques of the pre-Sultanate period that have survived in the province.[3]

The tablet measures 47 by 54 cm. and contains an inscription running into nine lines. Of these the first two lines comprising the religious text and the last recording the name of the scribe are in Arabic ; the remaining text is in Persian verse. According to the record, the construction of the mosque was started and completed during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh through the efforts of 'Izzu'd-Dīn, son of Ārāmshah. The date of completion is 1383-84 A.D. The style of writing is *Naskh* which though not of any exceptional merit is quite pleasing, being particularly remarkable for the sharpness of the outlines of the letters. Another noticeable feature is the employment of the well-known calligraphical device of using common curvature for two letters, e.g. the curvature of ' و ' and ' ع ' in line 2 and ' ف ' and ' ج ' in the second hemistich of line 7.

The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) قال الله تبارک و تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو[ا] مع الله احدا

(۳) در عهد خسروی که شهان پیش درگهش سر بر زمین نهاده چو خاکند در رهش

(۴) فیروز شاه شاه جهانگیر و دین پناه بنیاد کفر زو شده اندر گل تباه

(۵) نور چراغ شرع ازو یافته ضیا در عهد دولتش که مباداش انزوا

(۶) بنیاد این مقام شد از فضل کردگار از سعی عزالدین بن ارامشه بکار

(۷) اتمام هم بدولت عهدش شد این مقام امیدش انکه عفوگناهش بود تمام

(۸) از سال هجرت نبوی بود هفتصد هشتاد پنج گشته برو زاید از عدد

(۹) یارب ز فضل و عون خودش عفو کن تمام بانیش را گناه بکونین و السلام

(۱۰) بخط العبد الضعیف الراجی الی رحمة الله تعالی طاهر عثمان جعفری

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

[1] *CIB*, *op. cit.*

[2] Nadvī, *op. cit.*

[3] For a description and photographs of the mosque, see Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 72 and the facing plate and *PRWC*, 1898-99, pp. 15-16.

(2) Allāh the most Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh.'[1]

(3) In the reign of a monarch at whose court the kings place their heads on the ground like dust in his way,

(4) Fīrūz Shāh, the world-conquering king and the refuge of religion, through whom the foundation of infidelity has gone under the clay of destruction

(5) and in the period of whose reign the light of the lamp of *shar'* (religion) received glow from him—may it never be contracted!

(6) the foundation of this abode was laid by the bounty of the Creator through the efforts of 'Izzu'd-Dīn, son of Ārāmshah;

(7) this abode was also completed in his period. His hope is that his sins may be completely forgiven.

(8) From the year of Migration of the Prophet, it was seven hundred to which the number eighty and five was further added (A.H. 785=1383-84 A.D.).

(9) O Lord! Through your bounty and support, forgive all the sins of the builder in both the worlds. And peace (be on him)!

(10) Written by the weak creature, hopeful of the mercy of Allāh, Ṯāhir (son of) 'Uthmān Ja'farī.

The identity of 'Izzu'd-Dīn, son of Ārāmshah is difficult to establish. The contemporary and later reliable historical works do not mention this particular person. One Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Ḥājī, the *dabīr* (secretary) is mentioned by Baranī in his list of nobles of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh and Fīrūz Shāh.[2] But obviously our builder is different from this official who must be very old, if at all alive, at the time of this inscription, i.e. towards the close of the reign of Fīrūz Tughluq. Nor can he be identical with one Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn Yaḥyā mentioned by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, as having received the title A'ẓamu'l-Mulk at the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh's accession.[3] According to some, Malik 'Izzu'd-Dīn, son of Ārāmshah was the local governor.[4] But this statement seems to have been made on the basis of the present record only. The scribe of the inscription, Ṯāhir, son of 'Uthmān Ja'farī, is also an unknown figure.

The nineteenth inscription, another new record of Fīrūz Tughluq, is carved on a tablet, measuring 50 by 30 cms., fixed over the pulpit of the mosque in the Undipet Maḥalla at Cambay.[5] It refers to the construction of a mosque in 1385 A.D. during the administration of Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Farḥatu'l-Mulk Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī by Aḥmad, son of Wajīh, son of Ḥasan al-Quraishī. The language of the record is Persian and the text is executed in a mixture of *Naskh*, *Thulth* and *Riqā'* of a very high order. It will be noticed that the style of writing of this inscription—whose beauty and elegance is only marred, if at all, by the congested writing—bears striking resemblance to that of the Qāḍīwāda mosque inscription (pl. VIb), executed only seven years earlier and also set up during the governorship of Malik Mufarraḥ. The similarity does not end here; the text of the two records is to a large extent identical.

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 455 (where 'دینی' is obviously a misprint for 'دبیر'), 528.

[3] 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1868), p.2 26.

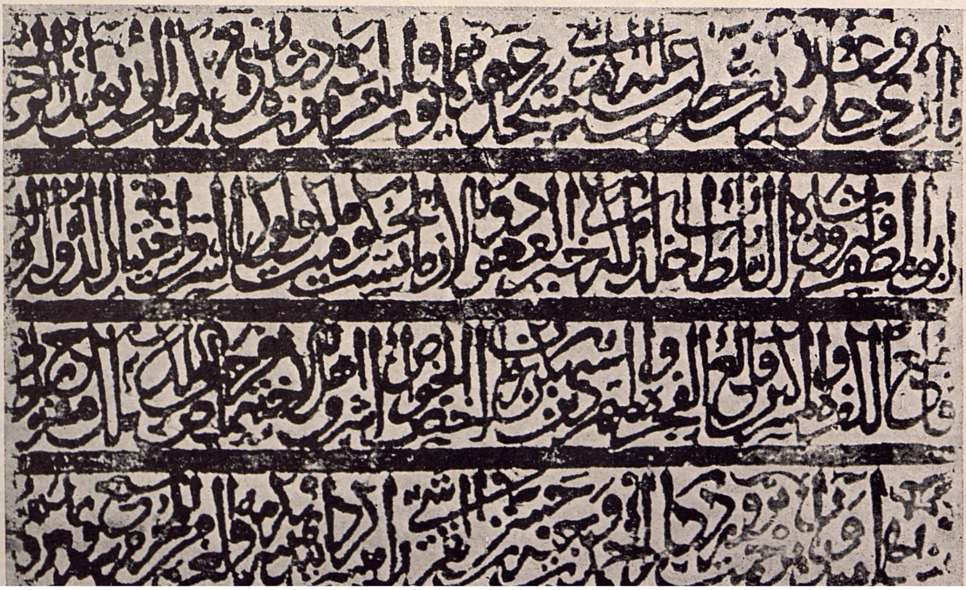
[4] *BG*, *op. cit.*, pp. 285, 543; Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[5] *ARIE*, 1956-57, No. D, 56.

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 785, from Mangrol (p. 25)

SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 787, from Cambay (p. 27)



This inscription is also important in that it is the earliest and the only known record using the title Farḥatu'l-Mulk with the name of Malik Mufarraḥ and omitting his usual titles *dawīdār-i-khāṣṣ* and *ra'īs-i-mamālik*. This aspect of the record has already been referred to in the preceding lines (p. 14).

Its text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII (b)

(۱) باری جل و علا برکت حضرت رسالت علیه السلم بنے (بنایے ؟) مسجد در عهد همایون و ایام میمون بادشاه ربع مسکون الواثق بتائید الرحمن

(۲) ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد ملکه کے خیر العهود و الازمانست بحکومت ملکٔ ملوکٔ الشرق اختیار الدولة و الدین

(۳) قامع الکفرة و المشرکین قالع الفجرة و المتمردین سپهکش زمان اخص الخواص اشرف اهل الاختصاص فرحت الملکٔ ملکٔ مفرح سلطانی

(۴) بنده امیدوار برحمت پروردگار احمد بن وجیه بن حسن القریشے را میسر گردانید بمنه و کرمه فے الغرة من المحرم سنه سبع و ثمانین و سبعمایه

TRANSLATION

(1-4) God, may He be glorified and exalted, through the blessings of (His) holy messenger, may (Allāh's) peace be on him, by His Favour and Grace rendered it possible for the creature who is hopeful of the mercy of the Creator, viz. Aḥmad, son of Wajīh, son of Ḥasan al-Quraishī to construct the mosque in the auspicious time and blessed period—which is the best of the times and periods—of the king of the inhabited quarter (i.e. the earth), reliant on the support of the Merciful, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh the king, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom (and) during the governorship of Malik-i-Mulūki'sh-Sharq Ikhtiyāru'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn, subduer of the infidels and polytheists, destroyer of the wicked and the rebellious, the general of the time, the most favourite of the favourites, the most noble among the men enjoying special (royal) favour, Farḥatu'l-Mulk Malik Mufarraḥ Sulṭānī, on the first of Muḥarram, year seven hundred and eightyseven (1st Muḥarram A.H. 787=12th February 1385 A.D.).

Aḥmad son of Wajīh Quraishī, the builder of the mosque, is not known to us.

The twentieth inscription of the group is yet another record of Fīrūz Shāh. The tablet bearing this epigraph measures 45 by 66 cm. and is built up in the wall to the left of the central *miḥrāb* of the Junī Jail-kī-Masjid at Mangrol.[1] The jail or prison building, by the side of which this old though very small and insignificant mosque is situated, is now no more used for that purpose but having passed into private possession is named Amar-Vilās.

The main text of the epigraph is in Persian verse totalling fourteen couplets and records that the completion of the mosque built through the efforts of the chief among the great (*ṣadru'l-akābir*)

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[1] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 152; *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Muḥammad Khwāja took place in 1385-86 A.D. during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. There is a line in prose, after the religious text in the first line, according to which the builder of the mosque, Muḥammad Khwāja Farīdu'd-Dīn-i-Kalān, was a disciple of the famous Chishtī saint Shaikh Naṣīru'd-Dīn. Likewise, the other three borders of the stone are inscribed with writing which being in a very minute hand and somewhat obliterated does not yield complete decipherment. However, after a few concentrated efforts, I have prepared a tentative reading. According to it, the text in the right border contains the famous tradition relating to the reward for the construction of mosques and a few more obliterated words. The writing in the left border is comparatively better preserved but not quite legible: it also records that the builder of the mosque is Muḥammad Khwāja, who is described as the uncle of Ḥaḍrat Raḍī ?, a companion of Maliku'sh-Sharq Shamsu'd-Dīn Pīrūz ?, *shaḥnabek* of the city and treasurer of the kingdom; it concludes with a request for prayer for the builder. The text in the bottom border is illegible except the portion containing the name of the stone-carver which reads something like Banthar (son of) Jhagan (Chhagan ?).

The style of writing is ornamental *Naskh* of some elegance which though remarkable for the artistic flourishes of its letters is not very impressive. The engraving also suffers from a few spelling mistakes.

The text has been deciphered as under:—

TEXT

Plate IX

(*a*) *Main portion.*

(۱) و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعو[ا] مع الله احدا ـ بناء مسجد محمد خواجه فریدالدین

کلان ؟ یکی از مریدان الشیخ نصیر الدین پناهی چشتیان

(۲) بعهد دولت شاهی کے شاهان ستاده بر درش انعام خواهان

(۳) شه فیروز کاندر داد و عدلش نداند ظلم را کس نام و نشان

(۴) امید دولتش جن و بشر را بذاتش مشتهر وصف سلیمان

(۵) جهانداری چنین و هم جهانگیر ندیده کس بدهر از نسل انسان

(۶) خدایا داریش دایم سلامت بگیتی[1] نا مه و مهر ست تابان

(۷) بناء این مبارک مسجد نو بمیمون ساعت و اکرام سبحان

(۸) بسعی دولت صدر اکابر محمد خواجهٔ است پور (؟) علی کان

(۹) بذاتش فضل و بذل از حد بیرون عطای خو (ی) او بیرون امکان

(۱۰) صفا و لطف او بیرون مقدار بهر یک در جهان او کرده احسان

(۱۱) ز او صاف کمالش خود چه گویم وزیر مملکت شاید بسلطان

(۱۲) ز هفصد بود تاریخش بهشتاد فزوده هفت دیگر بر سر آن

[1] This is engraver's mistake for ' تا '.

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Tughluq, dated A.H. 787, from Mangrol (p. 28)

SCALE : ·28

(۱۳) باتمام آمد این فرخنده بنیاد خدا بانیش را بخشد حق آن

(۱۴) بدار بی فنا و بی نهایت نعیم خلد بخشادش فراوان

(۱۵) بعالم تا رسد دور قیامت سلامت داردش از کید نقصان

(۱٦) دعا کردم من و آمین ملک گفت خدا گردانیش مقرون بایمان

(*b*) i. *Right border.*

قال النبی علیه السلام من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له مثله [فی الجنة] ....

ii. *Left border.*

بانی مسجد محمد خواجه عم حضرت رضی ؟ یار ملک الشرق شمس‌الدین پیروز شحنبکک ؟
شهر و خازن ممالک ...... هر که اید فاتحه و بدعاء ایمان برای رضاء خدا بانی را یاد کنند

iii. *Bottom border.*

.... بنتهر جهگن ؟ سنگ تراش

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only; hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[1] The construction of the mosque of Muḥammad Khwāja Farīdu'd-Dīn-i-Kalān, one of the disciples of Shaikh Naṣīru'd-Dīn, the mainstay of the Chishtīs.[2]

(2) In the period of the reign of the king at whose door kings wait upon aspiring for favours,

(3) viz. Shāh Fīrūz in whose justice and equity nobody finds a trace of tyranny;

(4) both genii and men hope to be benefited by his favour; the qualities of Solomon have become known through his person;

(5) such a master of the world who is also a world-conqueror, nobody has seen among the human beings in the world—

(6) O God! Keep him safe for ever in the world as long as the moon and the sun shine!

(7) the construction of this blessed new mosque (was carried out) at the auspicious time and through the favours of God

(8) by the efforts of the good fortune of *Ṣadru'l-akābir* (i.e. the chief among the great) Muḥammad Khwāja, who is the son ? of 'Alī.[3]

(9) In his person the excellence and munificence are beyond limit (and) the gift of his palm is beyond the range of possibility.

(10) What shall I say in praise of his perfection? He deserves to be the minister of the king.

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[2] Evidently the celebrated saint *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*.

[3] This word is clearly inscribed as 'کان' on the stone but its significance in the present context is not clear. Could it be 'دان'?

(11) The year was seven hundred and eighty and seven more added to it (A. H. 787=1385-86 A.D.) (when)

(12) this auspicious edifice was completed. May God grant its reward to the builder!

(13) May (God) bestow on him profuse bounties of everlasting happiness in the next world (lit. house that knows no end nor limit)!

(14) May (God) keep him immune from the guile of harm until the revolution of Resurrection overtakes the world!

(15) I have prayed (for him) and the angels have said, 'Amen'. O God! Keep him steadfast in Faith!

(*b*) i. The Prophet, may peace be on him has said, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh builds a similar one for him in Paradise'............

ii. The builder of the mosque is Muḥammad Khwāja, uncle of Ḥadrat Raḍī ?, a companion of Maliku'sh-Sharq Shamsu'd-Dīn Pīrūz, *shaḥnabek* ? of the city and treasurer of the kingdom ...... Whoever comes may pray with *Fātiḥa* and prayers of Faith for the pleasure of God for the builder.

iii.................................. Banthar ? (son of) Jhagan (Chhagan?), the stone-carver.

While it is not possible to trace any particulars of Muḥammad Khwāja, the builder of the mosque, it transpires from the text of the epigraph—after making allowance for poetical exaggeration—that he was a learned man and probably held the office of *ṣadr*. Whether he became minister or not in fulfillment of the wishes of the poet who considered him fit for that office is not known.

The twentyfirst epigraph also belongs to the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. The tablet measuring 30 by 65 cm. is at present fixed along with a few others[1] into the wall of a room of the old *Darbārgaḍh* now used as the Record room at Mangrol.[2] At the time of the compilation of the *Corpus* where the reading and translation of this inscription are given, the tablet was built up in the wall of a *dargāh* near the Rāvalī-Masjid.[3] The inscription is said to have originally belonged to the said mosque which is constructed in trabeate style with an open pillared facade and a large and pretentious porch fronting its main entrance.[4]

As the tablet is badly damaged due to weathering, a considerable portion of the text has been affected rendering a full reading out of question. However, with the help of the eye-reading given in the *Corpus*—which was prepared when the writing must have been in a slightly better preserved condition—the missing words have been supplied in brackets except where its reading appeared to be doubtful.[5]

The epigraph comprises fourteen lines. Of these the first two contain religious texts. Of the remaining twelve verses in Persian, half are devoted to nothing but encomiums lavished on the king while the rest contain the name of Makhdūmzāda Malik 'Abdu'l-Malik, son of Ḥusām, the date in words and the prayers for the said Malik. Though the surviving text does not contain the reference to the object of construction, there is no doubt that the record was meant for a mosque. As regards the date of construction, it must have been sometime between A. H. 780 and 789. The

[1] See *ARIE*, 1954-55, Nos. C, 136-49.

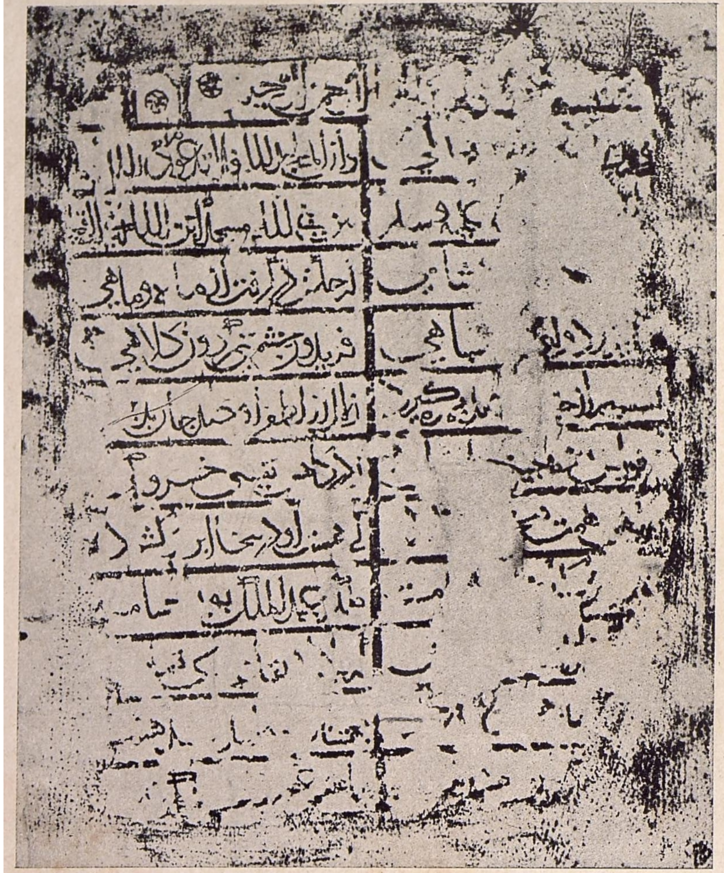
[2] *Ibid.*, No. C, 135.

[3] *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[4] *PRWC*, 1898-99, p. 16. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 74, also gives the gist of the inscription from the reading of the *CIB*.

[5] These readings have been specified in the footnotes.

(*a*) Damaged record of Fīrūz Shāh, from Mangrol (p. 31)



SCALE : ·19

(*b*) Inscription, dated A.H. 803, from Mangrol (p. 39)

SCALE : ·19

word indicating the unit figure of the year having been totally obliterated on the stone, it is difficult to ascertain the exact year, but the *Corpus* reads the word in question as 'eight' and gives A. H. 788 (1386-87 A. D.) as the date of construction.[1]

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good order being in general outline similar to the other Mangrol inscriptions.

The text of the inscription is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate X(a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) قال [الله تبارک و] تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

(۳) [قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم] من بنی لله مسجدا بنی الله له فی الجنة قصرا

(۴) [بعهد دولت فیروز] شاهی   که حکمش در گرفت از ماه و ماهی

(۵) سکندر دولتی [2][انجم ؟] سپاهی   فریدون حشمتی گردون کلاهی

(۶) نسیم از [خلق او] صد بهره گیرد   زلال از لطف او صد جان پذیرد

(۷) [ز] خوانش ریزه چی[نی حاتم طی]   ز درگاهش نقیبی خسرو کی

(۸) [بسع]ی همت مخ[دوم زاده]   کے هست او در سخا ابر کشاده

(۹) [ز قطراتش] کے [3][نیسانی بکا ؟] مست   ملک عبد الملک پور حسامست

(۱۰) .... رفت .... [بنا]مش   که باد[ا در] بقا ع[هد]ی [تمام]ش

(۱۱) [4][بده] ماه ج[مادی ؟ ا]لا[ول ؟]   بهشتاد [5].......... شد ؟ [6]..........

(۱۲) [خدایش اجراین] بخشد بد[ارین]   گناهش عفو[7][گرداند ؟] بکونین

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Allāh the most Blessed and Exalted says, 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; and hence invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[8]

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[1] *CIB*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 13, reads "دریا".

[3] *Ibid.* reads 'نیسانی شده مست'.

[4] This reading is purely tentative. *Ibid.* reads 'بهشت درشمار (هست) از عدد'.

[5] *Ibid.* supplies 'خوانند' here.

[6] *Ibid.* supplies 'هفتصد' here.

[7] *Ibid.* reads 'کن ازوی' here.

[8] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

(3) The Prophet, may Allāh's blessings and peace be on him, has said, 'One who builds for Allāh a mosque, Allāh builds for him a palace in Paradise'.

(4) In the period of the reign of Fīrūz—a king whose authority embraces (the universe) from moon to fish;

(5) (who has) Alexander-like fortune, star-like (i.e. innumerable) soldiers, Farīdūn's pomp and whose camp is sky;

(6) the zephyr receives a hundred shares from his good nature; limpid water receives hundred lives from his bounty;

(7) Hātim-i-Ṭayy is a mere crumb-picker from his table; Chosroes of the Kayānian (dynasty) is a mere herald at his court—

(8) through the efforts (and) magnanimity of Makhdūmzāda who is like a bursting cloud in generosity,

(9) whose drops fill the palate of the *naisān* (spring-cloud): he is Malik 'Abdu'l-Malik, son of Ḥusām.

(10) .... in his name, may all of his time......................

(11) It was the month of Jumādā I ? in the year eighty (and seven hundred) and...........

(12) May God grant him reward for this in this and the next world and forgive his sins in both the worlds.

Nothing is known about Makhdūmzāda Malik 'Abdu'l-Malik. It is likely that he was posted at Mangrol in some official capacity.

The next two inscriptions of this study are unique in that they are the only surviving records of Nuṣrat Shāh Tughluq, a grandson of Fīrūz Shāh, set up as a rival king to the throne of Delhi in A. H. 797 (1395 A.D.) by a faction of nobles. Both these inscriptions, set up in May 1395 A.D., mention Ẓafar Khān, later Muẓaffar Shāh I of Gujarat, as governor of the province on behalf of Nuṣrat Shāh. Their indisputable evidence has been elsewhere cited by me[1] to repudiate the general belief that Ẓafar Khān declared his independence in 1395 A.D. on account of the strife between the two rival kings and the impossibility of determining to whom the allegiance was due.[2] The epigraphical as well as other evidences have now finally established that Ẓafar Khān did not assume kingship before the second half of the year A. H. 810 (1408 A.D.).[3] These two epigraphs under study indicate beyond doubt that there was no question of Ẓafar Khān finding it impossible to determine his overlord as they clearly show that the Gujarat governor was a partisan of Nuṣrat Shāh only.[4] But the apparent reluctance on the part of Ẓafar Khān to assume independence until 1408 A.D. as is evidenced by his inscriptions dated A. H. 804, 805, 806, 807[5]—even after his son had made himself king of Gujarat in the middle of A. H. 806—has remained unexplained so far.

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[1] Z. A. Desai, 'Inscriptions of the Sultans of Gujarat from Saurashtra', *EIAPS*, 1953 and 54, p. 52.

[2] T. W. Haig, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 294-95.

[3] Desai, *op. cit.* Cf. Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[4] It should also be remembered that Tātār Khān, son of Ẓafar Khān, was a supporter of Nuṣrat Shāh (Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-64).

[5] ***ARIE***, 1954-55, Nos. C, 40, 48, 138; *ibid.*, 1960-61, Nos. D, 67, 69.

Now we know that in A. H. 797, Ẕafar Khān acknowledged Nuṣrat Shāh in preference to Maḥmūd Shāh as his sovereign.[1] Nuṣrat Shāh continued to rule until about A. H. 802, when he was compelled to flee to Mewat where he is stated to have died.[2] How long did Ẕafar Khān continue to acknowledge the suzerainty of Nuṣrat Shāh is unfortunately not on record, especially as we have not come across so far any inscriptions for the years A.H. 798, 799, 800[3], 801 and 802. But that even upto A.H. 803, he was loyal to the Delhi throne is evident from an inscription dated in that year from Mangrol in which the name of the Delhi ruler is, however, not mentioned.[4] The omission of the name of Delhi king does not seem to have been exclusively due to complete collapse of the central authority at Delhi so that officials in the distant provinces could hardly say who was excercising regal sway at Delhi.[5] It may be reasonably interpreted to indicate that Ẕafar Khān being a staunch partisan of Nuṣrat Shāh acknowledged his sovereignty as long as the latter's whereabouts were known. Ẕafar Khān, it seems, was torn between two conflicting motives : his sense of loyalty to the house of Tughluq on one hand and his preference for Nuṣrat Shāh and bias against Maḥmūd Shāh, on the other. It is also likely that Ẕafar Khān was not altogether sure about the alleged death in A.H. 802 of Nuṣrat Shāh who was, it may be stressed, last heard of as having headed towards Mewat. This may have been a contributing factor in his policy of maintaining *status quo* as far as the declaration of his own independence was concerned. But on the other hand, Ẕafar Khān was not certain that Nuṣrat Shāh was alive in A. H. 803. In other words, Ẕafar Khān seems to have been confronted with the dilemma as to whether Nuṣrat Shāh was alive or not. This might be the main if not the only reason why the Mangrol inscription of A.H. 803 failed to specify the name of the Delhi king. The fact, however, that the inscriptions of Ẕafar Khān dated after A.H. 803 shed off the reference to the Delhi king indicates that Ẕafar Khān had finally reconciled himself to the generally accepted fate of Nuṣrat Shāh, but even then and despite his avowed loyalty to the house of the Tughluq—for he did not declare his independence for the next five or six years—he was not prepared to owe allegiance as the governor of a province to Maḥmūd Shāh who had returned to Delhi in A.H. 804 and continued to rule there. Ẕafar Khān's bias against Maḥmūd Shāh is also indirectly proved by the cold though courteous treatment he meted out to the latter when, having come to Gujarat after Tīmūr's invasion, he had sought in vain to enlist Ẕafar Khān's support in his bid to recapture the throne of Delhi and had ultimately gone to Malwa.

Whatever be the case, it is certain that Ẕafar Khān was a partisan of Nuṣrat Shāh. Historical works do not throw any light on the reasons that may have prompted Ẕafar Khān to adopt such an attitude. It has been seen above that his son Tātār Khān was also a supporter and *wazīr* of Nuṣrat Shāh. Could this attitude of Ẕafar Khān and his son have been motivated on genealogical rather than any other grounds ? We are told that Ẕafar Khān's father Wajīhu'l-Mulk, then Sahāran, had married his sister to Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq when the latter was yet a prince.[6] If it could be established, as is likely, that Nuṣrat Shāh's father Fatḥ Khān, Fīruz's eldest son, was born of this wife who was Ẕafar Khān's aunt, this close kinship between Nuṣrat Shāh and Ẕafar Khān might provide a strong motive and explanation for the latter's bias. The statement of the author of the

[1] Incidentally, in the extremely opposite province of Bihar it was Maḥmūd Shāh who commanded sovereignty (*EIAPS*, 1951 and 52, p. 15 ; *ibid.*, 1961, pp. 32, 33).

[2] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 168 ; Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[3] What Commissariat, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76, has taken to be an inscription dated A. H. 800, on the basis of the account in *BG*, vol. VIII, p. 544, is in fact a record of A. H. 803. Also see the next two foot-notes.

[4] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 137. This inscription is included in the present study (No. XXIV).

[5] Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 76. However, in fairness to Professor Commissariat, it must be said that he had to rely upon the account of *BG*, *op. cit.*, for the date and contents of the record. *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3, gives the date as A. H. 700.

[6] Sikandar, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī also points to this possibility. According to him, one of the main factors that prompted Muḥammad Shāh, son of Fīrūz Tughluq and father of Maḥmūd Shāh, to send Ẓafar Khān to Gujarat was 'to see that the tent of the latter's greatness and influence is pitched in a place far from the capital'.[1] In other words Ẓafar Khān's presence at Delhi was not liked by Muḥammad Shāh, and the reason for this attitude could well be as suggested above.

The first of these two inscriptions being the twentysecond of the group is engraved on a square slab of marble about 50 cm. a side which is built up into the Record office at Mangrol.[2] It is said to have been originally fixed into the *chopāṭa* or small room to the west of the Gādī gate of the town.[3] The epigraph is bilingual, being in Persian verse and Sanskrit prose.[4] The Persian version inscribed in twelve lines of minute writing occupies about two-thirds of the space and runs into a poem of twentythree verses composed by Qāḍī Badr, son of Ẓahīr.[5] The composition of these verses is mediocre and faulty rendering their meaning vague and doubtful at places. The epigraph seems to state that during the reign of Nuṣrat Shāh, Ẓafar Khān the great minister held the governorship of Gujarat. Malik Ya'qūb of Tamīm origin[6] who administered the *shiq* of Sorath on behalf of the latter laid a new foundation[7] : there was a strong city-wall at Manglūr[8] but the chains (*ḥalqahā*) of the doors were not of iron. Consequently, the Malik got them made of steel and covered these gates with iron of which two hundred *mans* per panel were utilised. The work was carried out in 1395 A. D. under the direct charge of Malik Ya'qūb's brother, Malik Mūsā, the *kotwāl* of the town.

The Sanskrit portion records that in the Saṁvat year 1452, Vaiśākha-vadi 15, Sunday, during the victorious reign of Bādshāh Nasaratha[9] at Yōginīpura, when Sri Daphara Shā(Khā)na, appointed by him was ruling in the land of Gurjara, when Thamīma-Malika-śri-Akūba, son of Rāi Multāni was conducting the *mukatī* affairs here at *Mangalapura*[10] in Saurashtra, his relative Koṭwāla-malika-Śri-Mūsī by name caused to be made separately two massive iron doors for the two gates for the protection of the people. The *Torkhi* (i.e. Turkī) text was written by Kādī Badaradīna son of Sho(Kho)ja Jēhīra. It was engarved by Sutradhāra Vīrdhavala, son of Sutradhāra Rāṇiga.[11]

According to this epigraph, Mangrol was the head-quarters of the *shiq* of Saurashtra. It also mentions the two officials, Malik Ya'qūb, officer in charge of the district and his brother Malik Mūsā, *koṭwāl* of the town, who do not find any mention in historical works.

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*, photo-copy in Maharajkumar Dr. Raghubir Singh's library at Sitamau, M.P., f. 8.

[2] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 136 ; *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18. Diskalkar, *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (December, 1939), pp. 592-93, wrongly states that the inscription was removed to the Junagadh Museum. He also takes Nuṣrat Shāh of the record to be identical with Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Tughluq.

[3] *CIB*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[4] Commissariat, *op. cit.*, p. 74 and M. A. Chaghtāi, *Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad* (Poona, 1942), p. 33, have based their observations in respect of this epigraph on the reading given in *CIB*.

[5] Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, is wrong to assert that 'Ustād Qāzī and Malik Zahīr were expert supervisors' of the work.

[6] *Ibid.* wrongly considers Malik Ya'qūb and Malik Tamīm as two persons.

[7] The text says so in this portion. But immediately later it is stated that there was a strong fort here which had, however, no iron-doors. Since the Sanskrit version also speaks of the making of iron doors, it is clear that the composer means to say that the iron doors were provided to the fort.

[8] That is how Mangrol is spelt in the Persian version.

[9] Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 592, wrongly identifies Nuṣrat Shāh with 'Nāsirud-Dīn Muḥammad Tughlak (II)'.

[10] This is how the name of the town is spelt in the Sanskrit version.

[11] The Sanskrit version has been listed in *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. B, 513. Its full text was reproduced in H. Cousesn, *op. cit.*, p. 246 ; Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 593 ; etc.

PLATE XI

(*a*) Inscription of Nuṣrat Shāh Tughluq, dated A.H. 797, from Mangrol (p. 35)

SCALE : ·25

(*b*) Another record of Nuṣrat, dated A.H. 797, from Ghogha (p. 37)

The text, engraved in *Naskh* characters in relief, reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI(a)

(۱) بعون عنایات غفار پاک که شد خلقت از وی سما تا سماک

زمین را نهاده طباقا طبق سما را معلق ورق بر ورق

(۲) جهان بود ویرانه اباد کرد بناء کرم تا که بنیاد کرد

محمد فرستاد بر ما رسول ز ذاتش کے ذات جهان را قبول ؟

(۳) بدوران عهد شه زورمند شده نصرتش یار و بخت بلند

شهنشاه نصرة جهان بادشاه که عن من ؟ سرش شد سزاوار گاه

(۴) مظفر خان اعظم وزیر بدست تماش نه ؟ پا بر سریر

چنین گفته پیشینگان کهن جهان دیده مردان صاحب سخن

(۵) کے در عرصهٔ گوجرات آمری نبود و نباشد جهان ؟ داوری

بهر شق ازو آمری سرفراز بر انداز فتنه رعیت نواز

(۶) ز جاه و ز عزت قدم برفلک ز پاکی ذاتش شرف بر ملک

ملک والی عهد یعقوب نام که سورتهه بفرماندهی شادکام

(۷) تمیم اصل بود [ان] یل نامدار ملک ببر سینه ؟ شیر گردون شکار

بتوفیق ایزد بنا نو نهاد باحسان احسن کے توفیق داد

(۸) بمنگلور حصنیست سنگین حصار کے سد سکند[ر] بود شرمسار

فلک در بلندیست یا شیب او نه حصنی بران زینت و زیب او

(۹) نبد بسته ز اهن حلیقهای در ز پولاد کرده ملک سر بسر

بهر تخته اهن دو صد من گرفت ز سر تا بپایش در اهن گرفت

(۱۰) برادر بدس کار فرماء کار ملک موسئی کوتوال دیار

که این نقش بسته بفرمان او بماند که تا نام و نیشان او

(۱۱) بتاریخ هفصد نود هفت تام   ز ماه رجب چهارده شد تمام

بانشاء قاضی بدر ظهیر   چنین نقش پیدا ؟ شده بینظیر

(۱۲) هر انکو بخواند دعایش کند   دهد فاتحه مرحبایش کند

TRANSLATION

(1) Through the help of the kindness of the Holy Forgiving Lord, who created everything from sky to Fish,

who laid layers upon layers of earth and suspended the sky, leaf upon leaf;

(2) the world was desolate; He populated it and thus laid the foundation of generosity;

He sent Muḥammad to us as messenger on behalf of His Person which is agreeable to the world;

(3) in the period of the reign of the mighty king, whom victory has befriended and whose fortune is high,

the emperor Nuṣrat, the king of the world whose head is fully worthy of the throne (?),

(4) the victorious Ẕafar K͟hān the great (was) the minister; all (authority) was in his hands; (only) his feet were not on the throne.

Thus have the ancients of bygone ages—the experienced men who were masters of speech—related

(5) that in the province of Gujarat neither there was nor will there be such a just governor.

In every *s͟hiq* (district) a commander who is the overthrower of sedition and cherisher of subjects is appointed by him.

(6) On account of his dignity and respect his foot is on the heaven; through the purity of his person, he enjoys superiority over the angel.

The Malik (who is) the governor of the time and Ya'qūb by name (is one such officer) under whose rule Sorath is happy;

(7) that illustrious hero is Tamīm by origin; he is a Malik with the heart of a tiger (?) and is a lion whose prey is heaven.

Through God's Grace, he laid a new foundation through the bounty of the Most Benevolent (Lord) who guided him.

(8) At Manglūr there is a fort with stone-walls, (before) which the rampart of Alexander feels ashamed;

is the heaven high or the lowest portion of the fort is high? There is no other fort that can equal it in splendour and beauty.

(9) The chains of its doors were not fastened with iron; the Malik made them completely of steel.

He took two hundred *mans* of iron for every plank and covered it from head to foot with iron.

(10) He had a brother who looked after the execution of the work, viz. Malik Mūsā, the *kūtwāl* of the country,

through whose orders this task was carried out, May it remain as long as his name and trace remain !

(11) In the exact year (A.H.) seven hundred and ninety-seven on the fourteenth of Rajab (14th Rajab A.H. 797=5th May 1395 A.D.) it was completed.

Through the composition of Qāḍī Badr, son of Ẓahīr, such an unrivalled work has come to light.

(12) Whoever reads it may pray for him, offer *Fātiḥa* for him and welcome him.

The other inscription of Nuṣrat Shāh forming the twentythird record of the group is fixed over the central *miḥrāb* of the 'Īdgāh in the Mosampura quarter outside the town of Ghogha in the Bhavnagar district.[1] The arch-shaped tablet measurs 28 cm. from apex to bottom and 62 cm. in length and contains an epigraph of four lines in Persian with the exception of the religious texts. The record mentions the construction of a *namāzgāh* (i.e. place for 'Īd prayers) in 1395 A.D. during the reign of Shamsu'd-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. It further mentions Khān-i-A'ẓam Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, as the governor. The name of the builder is given as Kamāl, son of Ḥamīd, about whom we possess no information.

The inscription is an extremely valuable record, being in a way more important than the preceding one, since it quotes the title of Nuṣrat Shāh as Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn. None of the few coins of Nuṣrat Shāh that have come to light contains his titles.[2] Among the historians, Yaḥyā Sarhindī, whose work is the earliest available chronicle dealing with the later Tughluqs, calls him Nāṣiru'd-Dīn.[3] Subsequent chroniclers like Firishta and others also give the same title. With coins of Nuṣrat Shāh silent on the point, it is natural that the modern scholars should have accepted this title without questioning it. This record has now established that Nuṣrat Shāh had adopted the title Shamsu'd-Dīn on his accession to the throne.

The record was first published in the *Corpus* where the date was read as A.H. 777 and the name of the king as *Nuṣrat-Panāh* which must have mislead the scholars.[4] The style of writing is fairly good *Naskh* and the text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XI(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) و اذ جعلنا البيت مثابة للناس و امنا و اتخذوا من مقام ابراهيم مصلی

(۳) در عهد شاه اعظم شمس‌الدنيا و الدين نصرت شاه السلطان و بوقت خان اعظم ظفر

خان بن وجيه الملك بنا کرد عمارت اين نمازگاه بندهٔ اميدوار

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[1] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 23. For an account of Ghogha, see *BG*, vol. IV, pp. 339-45.

[2] Cf. H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907) p. 74.

[3] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 159, 163, 167, 168.

[4] *CIB*, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Chaghtāi, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, referring to the text of this inscription as noticed in *CIB* has, however, corrected the date.

(۴) برحمت پروردگار کمال حمید خدای بران بندهٔ مومن رحمت کند که درین مقام

برسد بنده امیدوار را بدعاء ایمان یاد کند

(۵) بتاریخ پانزدهم ماه رجب قدره سنه سبع و تسعین و سبعمایه من هجرة النبی

صلی الله علیه و سلم

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) 'And when we made the house a resort for men and a (place of) security ; and : Appoint for yourselves a place of prayer on the standing-place of Abraham.'[1]

(3) In the reign of the great king Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh the king and during the time of Khān-i-A'ẓam Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīhu'l-Mulk, the building of this *namāzgāh* (i.e. *'Īdgāh*) was constructed by the creature (who is) hopeful

(4) of the mercy of the Creator, Kamāl, son of Ḥamīd. May God have mercy on that believer who having come to this place remembers this hopeful creature with prayers for his Faith.

(5) On the fifteenth of the month of Rajab, may its dignity increase, in the year seven hundred ninetyseven from the Migration of the Prophet, may Allāh's salutations and peace be upon him ! (15th Rajab A.H. 797=6th May 1395 A.D.).

The twentyfourth and the last epigraph of this series is a record from Mangrol to which a reference has already been made in the preceding lines. As the importance of the record in that it shows the loyalty of Ẓafar Khān to the house of Tughluq and his reluctance to break away completely from the Delhi authority on one hand and his preference for Nuṣrat Shāh and bias against Maḥmūd Shāh has been discussed there,[2] it only remains for us to give below its text and translation along with a brief descriptive note.

The epigraphical tablet is now fixed into the wall of the Record room and measures 32 by 40 cm.[3] Its original findspot is not known. This inscription was also published in the *Corpus* which gave its date as A.H. 700.[4] Professor Commissariat following the *Bombay Gazetteer* gave the date A.H. 800[5] which also falls short of the correct date by three years. The text refers to the reigning king of Delhi but fails to name him. It also states that Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīh, was *muqṭi'* of Gujarat on behalf of the king ; he had appointed Malik Badr-i-Banjhal as his deputy in Sorath ; the latter's deputy at Mangrol was Malik Shaikh, son of Tāj, who constructed there a strong fort (*ḥiṣār*) in 1400-01 A.D. The inscription which runs into fourteen lines of Persian verse was composed by 'Alā, son of Ṣadr. The style of writing is *Naskh*.

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter II, part of verse 125.

[2] See pp. 32-33.

[3] *ARIE*, 1954-55, No. C, 137.

[4] *CIB*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

[5] Commissariat, *op. cit.*

The record has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate X(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(۲) بعهد شهنشاه گیتی مدار که مثلش نشد در جهان شهریار

(۳) جهانگیر زر بخش قلعه کشا همه خسروان : بر درش پرده دار

(۴) ز عدلش سراسر جهان شادمان ز جودش جهان در جهان شر مسار

(۵) ز شه خان اعظم ظفر خان وجیهه بگجرات بد مقطع کامگار

(۶) بتقوی چو عثمان چو حیدر بتیغ چو آصف بدانش چو رستم بکار

(۷) ز خان بود نایب بسورتهه همی ملک بدر بنجهل امیر کبار

(۸) کریمی نکو رای روشن ضمیر کے بد در جهان دایما باوقار

(۹) وزو بود نایب بمنگلور خوش جوانی جوانمرد رعنا سوار

(۱۰) ملک شیخ بن تاج کز سعی او برہ آمد بمنگلور روئے حصار

(۱۱) همه خلق خرسند از لطف او همه کس ثناگو بشهر و دیار

(۱۲) پناه قوی گشت مر خلق را چه غم گر بیاید عدو صد هزار

(۱۳) ز هجرت رسولی کے شد ختم این ؟ ز تاریخ هیصد سه بد در شمار

(۱۴) علا صدر خوش کرد تاریخ را وزو ماند ابن سالها یادگار

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficient, the Merciful.

(2) In the reign of the emperor, the pivot of the world, like whom there has not been any king in the world,

(3) the world-conqueror, gold-bestower and subduer of forts, at whose door all the monarchs are curtain-bearers (*parda-dār*) ;

(4) through his equity the whole world is happy (and) on account of his generosity the world within world is ashamed ;

(5) Khān-i-A'ẓam Ẓafar Khān, son of Wajīh, was the successful governor (*muqṭi'*) in Gujarat on behalf of the king.

(6) He is like 'Uthmān in piety, like 'Alī in bravery, like Āṣaf in sagacity and like Rustam in battle.

(7) A deputy in Sorath of the (said) Khān was Malik Badr (son of?) Banjhal, a great nobleman.

(8) The latter was a generous man of good judgment and illuminated mind, and was always full of dignity in the world.

(9) On his behalf the deputy at Manglūr[1] was a pleasant young man, a magnanimous youth and a pleasant cavalier, (*viz.*)

(10) Malik Shaikh, son of Tāj, through whose efforts a strong fort was constructed at Manglūr.

(11) All the inhabitants were happy on account of his kindness; everybody praised him in the city and the country.

(12) (The fort) became a strong shelter for the people; what is there to worry even if a hundred thousand enemies were to come.

(13) From the Migration of the Prophet when this was completed, eight hundred and three years came into reckoning (A.H. 803=1400-01 A.D.).

(14) 'Alā, son of Ṣadr, well composed the chronogram. And may it remain for years in memory of him!

Nothing is known about Malik Badr-i-Banjhal, the governor of Sorath under Ẓafar Khān and his deputy at Mangrol, Malik Shaikh, son of Tāj. In this connexion, it may be noted that the name of the father of Muḥāfiẓ Khān, who built the famous mosque at Ahmadabad in 1485 A.D. was also Malik Shaikh, but whether he is indentical with Malik Shaikh of our inscription it is difficult to say. The composer, 'Alā, whose poetical talents seem to be mediocre, is also an obscure figure.

[1] This is how the name of the town is spelt.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SHARQIS FROM BIHAR AND UTTAR PRADESH

By W. H. Siddiqi

The Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpur lasting for more than eighty years produced in all five rulers of whom the most prominent is Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (1402-1436). Although constantly engaged with the Delhi sulṭāns on one side and the Malwa kings on the other, the Sharqīs maintained their rule with vigour, at times eclipsing Delhi, until they were ultimately overthrown in A.H. 881 (1476-77 A.D.) by Buhlūl Lodī of Delhi. Unfortunately, very few monuments of these rulers now exist; Buhlūl's son Sikandar Lodī, prompted by rivalry and personal enmity towards Ḥusain Shāh the last Sharqī king, is stated to have destroyed and mutilated the monuments of this dynasty. Among their prominent buildings that have survived at Jaunpur are Atāla-Masjid, Jāmi'-Masjid and Lāl Darwāza-Masjid.[1]

The Sharqī rule has not been adequately described in contemporary annals. Nor has any monograph pertaining to it been published so far. Consequently, the history of these rulers has to be pieced together from the casual references occurring in Persian chronicles and their mural records. Then too, very few inscriptions of the Sharqīs have been noticed and published so far.

It is, therefore, hoped that the following study of nine inscriptions from different places in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh will not be found without interest. These inscriptions range in their dates from A.H. 807 (1404-05 A.D.) to A.H. 859 (1455 A.D.) and four of them come from Bihar Sharif, three from Bilgram and one each from Jajmau and Hathgaon. They represent the reigns of Ibrāhīm Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh.

Ibrāhīm Shāh

I. INSCRIPTION FROM BIHAR SHARIF, DISTRICT PATNA, BIHAR

Bihar was captured by the founder of the dynasty Khwāja-i-Jahān, entitled Maliku'sh-Sharq and Sulṭānu'sh-Sharq who established his authority within a short time over Oudh and Gangetic *doāb* as far west as Koil (Aligarh) and on the east into Tirhut and Bihar. On his death in A.H. 802 he left his possessions in tact to his adopted son Malik Qaranful who assumed the royal title Mubārak Shāh. The latter died in the following year and was succeeded by his brother Ibrāhīm.[2]

At this period, Bihar was a bone of contention for territorial supremacy between the Tughluqs and the Sharqīs, but the latter, however, managed to hold Bihar upto 1486 A.D.[3] Their inscriptions from that province range between the years A.H. 805 (1402-03 A.D.) and A.H. 892 (1487 A.D.). However, the earliest epigraph at Darbhanga, dated A.H. 805 in the reign of Ibrāhīm is now no

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[1] Führer, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur*, ed. James Burgess (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 4-13; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47; Muḥammad Faṣīḥu'd-Dīn, *The Sharqī Monuments of Jaunpur* (Allahabad, 1922); Munshī Naẓīru'd-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i-Jaunpūr*, in Urdu (Jaunpur, 1922), pp. 8-16.

[2] Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 169, 171; Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), pp. 129, 130; Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1884), p. 159; S.H. 'Askarī, 'A review of Bihar during the Turko-Afghan Period', *Current Studies*, Patna, 1954, p. 17.

[3] *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1961, p. 35; Diwakar, R. R., *Bihar Through the Ages* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 393.

more traceable, though it is said to have been in tact in the 16th century when Mullā Taqiyā saw and recorded its full text.[1]

The epigraph under study was discovered by Professor S.H. 'Askarī of Patna;[2] it is fixed on the one-wall mosque attached to the tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Sīwistānī, a fourteenth-century saint.[3] The record is important in indicating that Ibrāhīm exercised authority over Bihar at a time when Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq also got the recognition of his authority in this region—a fact established by his inscriptions from Kako and Bihar Sharif, dated A.H. 799 and A.H. 810 respectively.[4] To explain this apparent contradiction, namely that the sovereignty of two independent kings was acknowledged almost during the same period and in the same region, it has been suggested as likely that the Sharqī inscription is not *in situ* and was brought from some other place.[5] On the same analogy, Maḥmūd's inscription also may not be *in situ* since it is found on a modern mosque at Bihar Sharif. Therefore, unless it is conclusively proved that Ibrāhīm's record does not belong to the place where it is found, the Sharqī occupation of Bihar or a part thereof during his reign cannot be ruled out. Another possible explanation may be that the place was occupied in quick successions by the Delhi and the Sharqī rulers. It is also worthwhile to remember that Maḥmūd's authority over Bihar must have been limited in extent and time since, this was the period when the Tughluq authority had started to dwindle and finally collapsed at the centre and elsewhere, while the Sharqī ruler, on the other hand, was asserting his authority, having offered, in 1405-06 A.D., successful resistance to the Delhi authority represented by Iqbāl Khān who had attempted to oust him from his position.[6]

The inscriptional tablet measures 1.12 m. by 27 cm. and contains two couplets in Persian, carved in relief in an excellent hand in the typical *Naskh* of the Bihar variety. The record mentions the renovation of a structure by one Quṭb, son of Aḥmad '*Āriḍ* in 1404-05 A.D., during the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh and has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII(a)

(۱) در عهد بادشاه جهانگیر جم نشان   برهان روزگار براهیم در جهان

(۲) نو کرد قطب احمد عارض بنا یقین   تاریخسال هیصد بد و هفت در بیان[7]

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the world-conquering monarch having the insignia of Jamshīd, Ibrāhīm, who is the demonstration of the age in the world,

(2) verily, Quṭb, (son of) Aḥmad '*Āriḍ* renovated the structure, when the date of the year was eight hundred and seven (A.H. 807=1404-05 A.D.).

[1] 'Askarī, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Diwakar, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-94.

[2] 'Askarī, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[3] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1955-56, No. D, 82.

[4] *EIAPS*, 1961, pp .33 (pl. Xc), 34 (pl. Xb).

[5] *Ibid.*, 1955 and 56, p. 11.

[6] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 130; T. W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 202-03.

[7] It is clearly inscribed so, but the intended word may be " میان ".

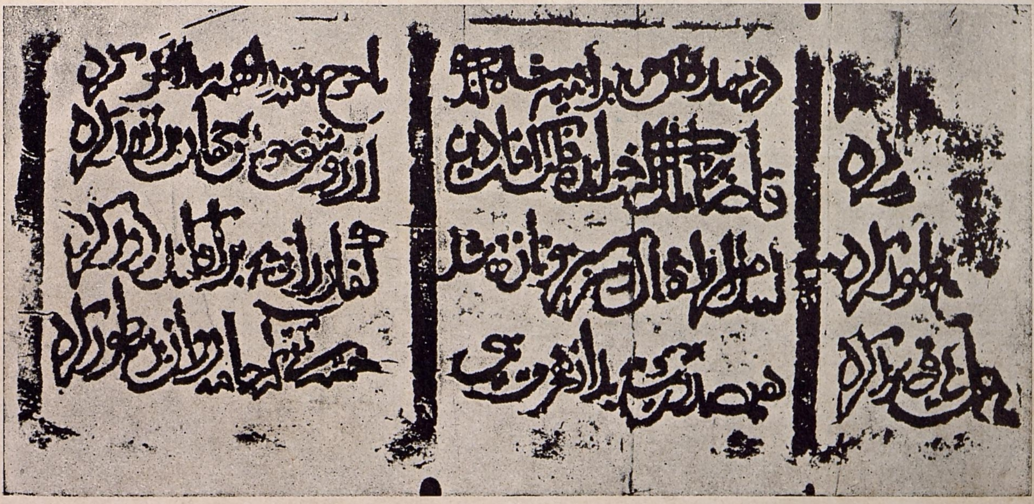
(*a*) Sharqī inscription, dated A.H. 807, from Bihar Sharif (p. 42)

Scale : ·14

(*b*) Another Sharqī record, dated A.H. 845, from Bilgram (p. 47)

Scale : ·13

(*c*) Third Sharqī record, dated A.H. 835, from Bihar Sharif (p. 43)



Nothing is known about Quṭb, son of Aḥmad, the renovator of the building. If the word *'āriḍ* is taken as qualifying instead of being substantive, it would mean that the builder held that post[1] in Bihar.

II. INSCRIPTION FROM THE AMBER DARGAH, BIHAR SHARIF

This epigraph belongs to the same ruler and was also spotted by Professor 'Askarī on a slab fixed in the west compound-wall of the Amber *dargāh* at Bihar Sharif.[2] Unfortunately, the tablet is broken, and nearly one half of the text is missing. Measuring in its present state 95 by 25 cm., it contains a record of four couplets in Persian mentioning the erection of a certain structure in 1431-32 A.D., during the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh. It further eulogises the exploits and achievements of one Malik Qāḍan, particularly in the cause of religion, and gives the name of the calligraphist as Taqī who probably composed the text.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of pleasant execution similar to that in the previous epigraph.

The surviving text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII(c)

(۱) ....

در عهد ظل حق براهیم شاه آنکه ماجوج فتنه را بهمه سد نفور کرد

(۲) .... دور کرد

قاضا ملک که خوانده فلک آفتاب دین از روشنی خویش جهان پر ز نور کرد

(۳) .... ظهور کرد

اسلام را نهال ز سر سبز و تازه شد کفار را ز بیخ بر افگند دور کرد

(۴) ...... عمل بے قصور کرد

هیصد و سی و پنج بد از هجرت نبی خسته تقے که خامه روان بر سطور کرد

TRANSLATION

(1) .... During the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh, the shadow of God, who repelled, at all barriers, the Magogs of sedition.

(2) ....removed. Qāḍan Malik who is called the sun of the Faith by the sky, has illuminated the world through his own light.

(3) ....manifested. The plant of Islām was once more rendered green and fresh ; he has uprooted (and) thrown out the unbelievers.

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[1] For *'āriḍ* and his duties, see I.H. Qureshī, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Lahore, 1944), pp. 85-86, 137-138, 152, 199.

[2] 'Askarī, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ; *ARIE*, 1953-54, No. C, 93.

(4) ....carried out the work without defect. It was eight hundred and thirtyfive from the Migration of the Prophet (A.H. 835=1431-32 A.D.), when the infirm Taqī moved his pen over these lines.

Very little is known regarding Malik Qāḍan. The text being fragmentary, it is not possible to say if it was he who actually ordered the construction. Anyway, it may be reasonably presumed that he acted in some official capacity in the province. From the text of the record, it may be inferred that he enjoyed the title Shamsu'd-Dīn. Professor 'Askarī has identified him as a warrior-noble and disciple of a Qādirī saint of Amjhar in Gaya district.[1] But we have no information regarding the calligraphist Taqī.

III. INSCRIPTION FROM BILGRAM

This record of Ibrāhīm comes from Bilgram in the Hardoi district of Uttar Pradesh. Bilgram, the headquarter town of the *tehsil* is a place of considerable size on the old high bank of the river Ganges at a distance of sixteen miles south of Hardoi. It is a place of great antiquarian interest.[2] The earliest Arabic inscription from the town found so far, appearing on the Sayyidwāṛa mosque, pertains to the reign of Iltutmish.[3]

The present record is carved on a tablet fixed in the eastern wall, to the left of the main entrance, of the modern Jāmi' mosque in Upperkot.[4] This tablet is also unfortunately fragmentary, and a considerable portion of the text is lost. In its present state, it measures 54 by 57 cm. and in shape resembles a perfect arch. This feature, the shape of the slab has been taken to indicate, that it was at some later date appropriated and the backside of it used for an epitaph by somebody,[5] while according to a local account which does not quote any source, the present tablet, one of the three pieces into which the original slab was broken, was discovered at the time of the construction of the Jāmi' mosque in 1925 and kept along with some more pieces in the house of Qāḍī Muḥammad Yūsuf.[6] There was not and is not even now any trace of the remaining two pieces of this inscription.

The surviving text comprises six incomplete hemistiches executed in bold *Naskh* characters, and records the renovation of the Jāmi' mosque during the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh. It also mentions Muntajib, son of 'Ālam and 'Alī, son of Shams, presumably as the composer and the builder, respectively. The date portion is lost. A vertical panel which evidently occupied the central portion of the original inscription contains a note stating that this is the date of the Jāmi' mosque of the *qaṣba* Bilgrām.

The extant text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIII(b)

(۱) ....شاه ابراهیم شاه ....

(۲) ....ز سر مسجد جامع چنان ؟ ....

[1] 'Askari, *op cit.*

[2] For details. please see Nevill, H.R., *District Gazetteer of U. P.*, vol. XLI, Hardoi (Nainital, 1904), p. 176; Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī, *Tanqīḥu'l-Kalām Fī Tārīkhi'l-Bilgrām* (Aligarh, 1937), pp. 98, 100-13, 122; etc.

[3] *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, p. 23 (pl. XXVIII).

[4] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 197.

[5] *Ibid.*, introduction.

[6] Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

(۳) .... تاریخ قمر انورین حم ....

(۴) .... افزا در جهان ....

(۵) ... [بند]ه اضعف منتجب عالم زجان عاقب[ت] ....

(۶) .... [د]ر عهد ابراهیم شاه بین ملکٔ عالی علی بن شمس از عون اله

Vertical panel in the middle.

تاریخ عمارت مسجد جامع قصبه بلگرام

TRANSLATION

(1) ....king Ibrāhīm Shāh........

(2) ....such a Jāmi' mosque (was constructed) afresh.................

(3) ....the date from the illuminated moon (i.e. of lunar era)................

(4) ....increased....in the world..

(5) The weak creature Muntajib, (son of) 'Ālam from his soul (i.e. sincerely).............. the end...................

(6) ....in the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh. See the great Malik 'Alī, son of Shams, through the help of god.

Vertical panel.

The date of (re)construction of the Jāmi' mosque of the *qasba* of Bilgrām.

In this connexion it might be worthwhile to reproduce the text prepared by the above mentioned Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī :—

(۱) تاریخ عمارت مسجد جامع بلگرام

(۲) عهد شاه ختم شاهان شاه ابراهیم شاه از ولایت دین بامر و از عنایت حق اله

(۳) شد عمارت باز سر مسجد جامع جهان از اشارت خان اعظم فتح خان بن فتح خان

(۴) بود هشت صد چهل و دو تاریخ قمر انورین چارده مه روز یکشنبه ربیع الآخرین

(۵) در عمارت این بنائے نور افزائے جهان امر فرمایش ملکٔ را نیکٔ نامی فتح خان

(۶) از دعائے بنده اضعف منتجب عالم زجان عاقبت شان را چه جوئی جنت الماوی مکان

According to this reading, the mosque was renovated at the instance of the famous Sharqī noble Khān-i-A'ẓam Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān, about whom we shall speak later, on Sunday the 14th Rabī' II A.H. 842 (4th October 1438 A.D.).

Of the other persons, Muntajib, son of 'Ālam, appears to be the composer of the epigraph. He belonged to a leading Shaikh family and had sometime held the office of the *ḥākim-i-shar'* at

Bilgram. He lies buried in the famous mound, called Bill, at that place.[1] He is also reported to have been a Persian poet of merit.[2]

The other personage, Malik 'Alī son of Shams, seems to have been an officer of note. He is, however, not mentioned in historical works. Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī quotes some documents dated A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) in which one Amīr Shams, son of 'Alī is mentioned as the father of the issuing officer Amīr Shaikhan.[3] It is likely that this person is identical with 'Alī, son of Shams whose name may have been wrongly read.

IV. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE

The fourth and the last inscription of Ibrāhīm Shāh is carved on a slab fixed in the eastern wall to the right of the entrance of the above-mentioned Jāmi' mosque of Bilgram.[4] Unfortunately, this tablet is also fragmentary and badly damaged, the main portion of the text having been lost. In its present condition it measures 38 by 34 cm. and contains a record of three lines in Arabic executed in relief in bold *Naskh* characters of a fairly high order.

It is an interesting record both from the historical and palaeographical points of view. Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī on the basis of his eye-reading of this epigraph assigns it to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, grandson of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna.[5] But there is absolutely no basis, palaeographical or textual, for such an assertion. The present inscription is evidently a Sharqī record, most probably pertaining to the reign of Ibrāhīm, since in general outlines of its calligraphy it has close resemblance to the previous record. In the absence of a complete text, it is not possible to say anything definite about the main purport of the record. It, however, seems to refer to the Jāmi' mosque of the *qaṣba* of Bilgrām and mentions the name Daulatyār, the royal *sharābdār*.

The extant text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (a)

(۱) ....[مس]جد جامع قصبه بلگرام فی العهد[6] الملک؟ ....

(۲) .... [7]السلطان خلد ملکه.................................

(۳) .... [8]دولتیار شرابدار خاص مکـ[نه].......................

TRANSLATION

(1) The Jāmi' mosque of the *qaṣba* of Bilgrām during the reign of the king.................

(2) ....the sulṭān, may his kingdom be perpetuated................

(3) Daulatyār, the *sharābdār-i-khāṣṣ*, may (Allāh) strengthen (his position)...............

[1] Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'āthiru'l-Kirām* (Hyderabad, 1910), pp. 15-16.

[2] Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

[4] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 306.

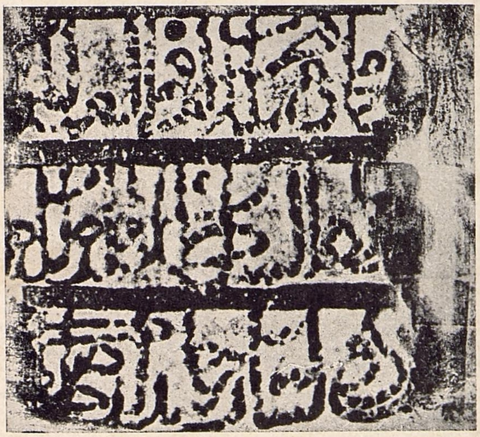
[5] Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[6] *Ibid.* reads 'ابراهیم'.

[7] *Ibid.* reads 'طان لسان'.

[8] *Ibid.* reads 'ذولسار...... بلگرام خلد ملکه'.

(*a*) Fragmentary Sharqī record, from Bilgram (p. 46)



Scale : ·18

(*b*) Another fragmentary Sharqī record, same p'ace (p. 44)

Scale : ·18

No information is available about Malik Daulatyār, who was evidently a noble of high position entrusted with the duties of the royal *sharābdār*.[1]

Maḥmūd Shāh

V. INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME PLACE

The next five inscriptions of the present group pertain to the reign of Ibrāhīm's son and successor Maḥmūd who came to the throne in A.H. 839 (1436 A.D.). The latter's reign was marked by expeditions against Kalpi, Chunar, Orissa, and finally Delhi. He died in A.H. 861 (1456 A.D.).

The earliest of these records, from Bilgram, is now built into the southern wall in the verandah of the above Jāmī' mosque.[2] The tablet measuring 92 by 28 cm. contains a record of two lines in Persian executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. The epigraph records the renovation in 1441-42 A.D. of some structure of unspecified nature by Malik Mānik Bhaṭṭī of Bhaṭner, a companion of Khān-i-A'ẓam Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān Harīwī. It is difficult to ascertain the nature of the building since the exact findspot or the building to which it originally belonged is not quite certain. But according to Maḥmūd Bilgrāmī, the loose tablet originally belonged to the *Dāru'l-'Adālat* (court) from whose ruins it was recovered and shifted to the house of Qāḍī Yūsuf Bilgrāmī at the time when he wrote his book.[3]

The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII(b)

(۱) تجدید شد این عمارت [در] عهد میمون شهنشاه محمود ابن ابراهیم شاه بسعی اجل ملک مانک بهتی

(۲) بهتنیری یار خان اعظم فتحخان بن فتحخان هریوی سنه خمس و اربعین و ثمانمایة

TRANSLATION

(1) This building was renovated [in] the auspicious reign of the emperor Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, through the great efforts of Malik Mānik Bhattī

(2) of Bhatner, a companion of Khān-i-A'ẓam Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān Harīwī (in the) year five and forty and eight hundred (A.H. 845=1441-42 A.D.).

Malik Mānik, the renovator of the building, who evidently belonged to the Bhaṭṭī clan of Rajputs of Bhatner being unknown to history, our record is important in that it has preserved his name as well as the information that he was a Sharqī noble of eminence who enjoyed confidence and companionship of Khān-i-A'ẓam Fatḥ Khān. The latter was evidently a son of Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān Harīwī, a famous noble and general of Mubārak Shāh and Ibrāhīm Shāh. He held Kannauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh until the latter's death in A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.), in which year Maḥmūd Tughluq of Delhi ousted him from that place.[4] Apart from this, no further

[1] For the office of the *sharābdār*, see A. Mahdī Ḥusain, *The Rise and fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938), p. 220.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 196. When the inscription was copied in 1958, the slab was lying loose.

[3] Maḥmūd, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

[4] Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

information regarding the S͟hāhzāda is available. He might have died at some subsequent date in the reign of Ibrāhīm.

K͟hān-i-A‘ẓam Fatḥ K͟hān, the son, was a trusted noble of Maḥmūd S͟hāh and commanded the S͟harqī army comprising thirty thousand cavalry and thirty elephants against Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī. In the severe battle that ensued in A.H. 856 (1452 A.D.), Daryā K͟hān Lodī, a partisan of S͟harqī ruler having deserted him, Fatḥ K͟hān was defeated. Rāi Karan, the Lodī governor of Shamsabad, severed the head of Fatḥ K͟hān and sent it to Buhlūl Lodī.[1]

V. INSCRIPTION FROM JAJMAU

The second inscription of Maḥmūd S͟hāh comes from Jajmau a village in the Kanpur District.[2] The town is very ancient having given its name to Kanpur *pargana* and *tehsil* in the past, though it is now a decayed place standing on the bank of the Ganges about four miles to the east of Kanpur.[3] The antiquity of this place is proved from its mention by Al-Bīrūnī. It is also mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl.[4]

The inscriptional tablet is set up in the wall to the right of the entrance of the tomb of ‘Alā-u'd-Dīn Mak͟hdūm S͟hāh. The saint is popularly believed to have accompanied Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak.[5] His tomb has been attributed to Fīrūz S͟hāh Tug͟hluq evidently on the basis of the latter's inscriptions to be found on the tomb itself and the adjoining mosque.[6]

The slab is apparently not *in situ*. In fact, it is reported to have been brought from some ruins nearby about fifty years back. Measuring 70 by 33 cm., it contains a record of three lines in Arabic executed in *T͟hulth* characters after the fashion of the Tug͟hluq inscriptions mentioned above. The record is unfortunately so badly damaged that it is not possible to make out its full text. The readable portion, however, seems to mention the construction in 1446-47 A.D. of a certain building by one Ḥammād, a descendant of the above-mentioned saint. The name of the calligraphist is Ḥāmid, son of ‘Abdu'l-Wahhāb.

The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIV(a)

(۱) .... و الشرع و الدین ... شیخ ...... ابن شیخ مشایخ ؟ غیاث الحق و الشرع

(۲) و الدین رضی الله عنه المعمار اضعف العباد حماد بن شیخ ابراهیم ؟ ابن شیخ محمد ابن شیخ علاء الحق و الدین فی

(۳) عهد سلطان العادل ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه ابن ابراهیم شاه سلطان سنه خمسین ؟ و ثمانمایه کاتب حامد عبدالوهاب

---

[1] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 153 ; Firis͟hta, *op. cit.*, p. 175 ; ‘Abdu'llāh, *Tārīk͟h-i-Dā'ūdī* (Aligarh, 1954), p. 15, where it is mentioned that Fatḥ K͟hān Harīwī was buried at Narela near Delhi. In *PASB*, 1873, p. 201 and T. W. Beale, *Miftāḥu't-Tawārīk͟h* (Lucknow, 1867), p. 127, is published the reading of an inscription from Kannauj of the time of Ḥusain S͟hāh S͟harqī, recording the construction of an arch by Sayyid Rājū, son of Jalāl, under the supervision of S͟hāh Harī (S͟hāh-i-Hirāt?) Fatḥ K͟hān, son of Fatḥ K͟hān, in A.H. 881 (1476-77 A.D.).

[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 315.

[3] Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XIX, Cawnpore (Allahabad, 1909), p. 300.

[4] *Alberuni's India*, Eng. tr. E. Sachau, vol. I (London, 1914), p. 200 ; Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 349, 430.

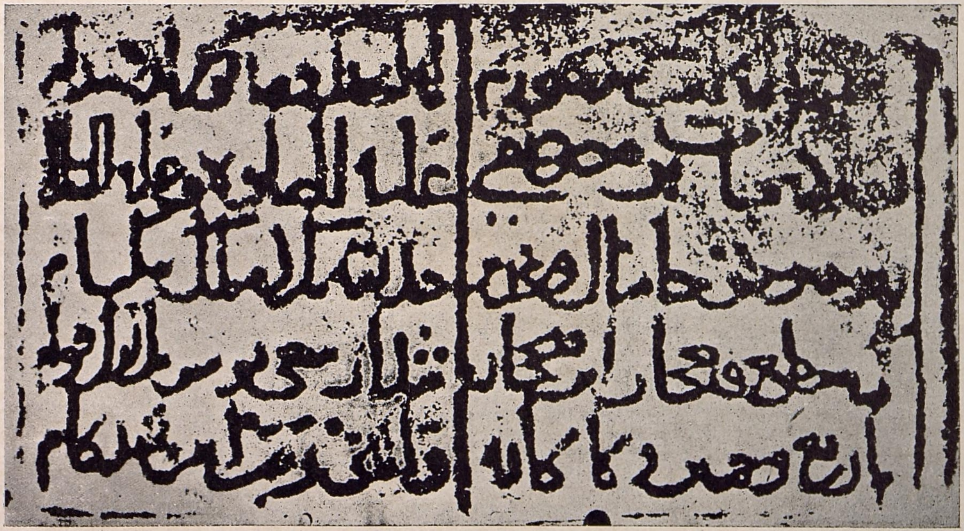
[5] Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

[6] For these inscriptions and also one of ‘Alāu'd-Dīn K͟haljī appearing on the ‘Idgāh, see *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, Nos. D, 314, 316, 318.

(*a*) Damaged Sharqī record, dated A.H. 850, from Jajmau (p. 48)

SCALE : ·23

(*b*) Another Sharqī inscription, dated A.H. 845, from Hathgaon (p. 49)



SCALE : ·23

TRANSLATION

(1) ....wa'sh-Shar' wa'd-Dīn.......Shaikh..................son of Shaikh of the Shaikhs ? Ghiyāthu'l-Ḥaq wa'sh-Shar'

(2) wa'd-Dīn, may Allāh be pleased with him. The builder (is) the weakest of creatures Ḥammād, son of Shaikh Ibrāhīm, son of Shaikh Muḥammad, son of Shaikh 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn, in the

(3) reign of the just sulṭān Abu'l-Mujāhid Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, the sulṭān, in the year fifty and eight hundred (A.H. 850=1446-47 A.D.). The writer (is) Ḥāmid, (son of) 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb.

The personages mentioned in the record do not find any mention in contemporary historical works.[1] Likewise, no information regarding the writer of the epigraph named Ḥāmid, son of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, is available.

VI. INSCRIPTION FROM HATHGAON

The third inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh is from Hathgaon in the Fatehpur district. Hathgaon is a small town situated on the old Mughal road leading from Fatehpur to Kara at a distance of 18 miles from the former. It is a place of considerable antiquity, as is testified by the height of the main site, which has been raised by gradual accumulation of old building materials.[2]

The loose inscriptional tablet originally reported to have been recovered from a field is said to have been first kept for sometime in a small mosque. It is now placed at the headside of the grave of Burhān Shahīd situated near the historical Jaichandī mosque of the town, and measures 60 by 32 cm.[3] The exact findspot of the slab, however, is not certain. According to Führer followed by Nevill, the inscription belonged to the tomb of some person whose name is given as Yūsuf.[4] But evidently Führer has not given the correct purport of the record.

The inscription is badly damaged due to wear and tear of time and constant exposure to the elements of nature ; hence, its complete decipherment is not possible. The text consisting of five verses in Persian, executed in *Naskh* characters in relief, seems to mention the completion of an enclosed garden, a well, a pond and a pool by Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān, the *muqṭi'*, in 1450 A.D. under the active superintendence of Yūsuf.

The text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIV(b)

(۱) بعهد شهنشاه محمود نام ؟ که .... مدام

(۲) درود و تحیات بر مصطفے علیه الصلوة و علیه السلام

(۳) ...... ز لطف ؟ چاه تال و غدیر حدیقه بکرده ملک نیک نام

(۴) که مقطع فتحخان ابن فتحخان شد از سعی یوسف .... قوام

(۵) باربع و خمسین و ثمانمائة و اثنی رجب این شد تمام

[1] The saint and his descendants, viz. Shaikh Ghiyāthu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn and Shaikh Muḥammad are mentioned in the Tughluq records referred to above.

[2] Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XX, Fatehpur (Allahabad, 1906), pp. 229-30 ; Abu'l-Faḍl, *op. cit.*, pp. 349, 431.

[3] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 299.

[4] Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 230 ; Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 161.

TRANSLATION

(1) During the reign of the emperor Maḥmūd by name(?)....................for ever.

(2) May blessings and greetings be on Muṣṭafā! May salutations and peace be upon him!

(3) ....a well, a tank and a pool (and) an enclosed garden were constructed by the Malik of good reputation

(4) who (is) the *muqṭi*ʻ, (namely) Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān; (the work was carried out) through the efforts of Yūsuf........Qiwām.

(5) It was completed on the 2nd of Rajab (in the A.H. year) fiftyfour and eight hundred (2nd Rajab A.H. 854=11th August 1450 A.D.).

The identity of Yūsuf is difficult to establish. But Fatḥ Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān, the *muqṭi*ʻ, is none other than Fatḥ Khān Harīwī who has been already referred to in the preceding lines. The inscription thus furnishes additional information that the vicinity of Hathgaon, the findspot of the record, was included in the *iqṭā*ʻ of Fatḥ Khān.

VII-VIII. INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR SHARIF

The last two inscriptions which have been already noticed by Blochmann and others, come from Bihar Sharif and are important both from historical and palaeographical points of view. The first of these epigraphs is fixed in the facade of a mosque in the Pahāṛpūr *maḥalla*, while the other is now in the Amber *dargāh*.[1]

The Pahāṛpūr mosque inscription is engraved on a slab of stone measuring 1·82 m. by 22 cm. and consists of seven verses in Persian preceded by religious texts in Arabic, which are inscribed in two lines. It records the construction of a Jāmiʻ mosque in 1455 A.D., during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh. The text does not specifically give the name of the builder who is simply mentioned by such titles as the champion and refuge of the world, the generous chief (*ṣadr*), etc., but in view of the other inscription to be studied next, we would not be far from truth to state that he is none other than Malik Naṣīr, the governor. The record sincerely invoking the spiritual help of the celebrated Bihar saint Sharafu'd-Dīn Manerī is composed by Aḥmad, who has been identified by Professor ʻAskarī with another eminent saint of Bihar, Ḥaḍrat Aḥmad Balkhī Langar-i-Daryā.[2]

The epigraph, executed in graceful *Naskh* of Bihar variety has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XV(a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم قال علیه السلام   من بنا ؟ لله مسجد اله بیتا فی الجنة

بارک الله در زمان ناصر دنیا و دین   شاه محمود بن ابراهیم شاه راستین

صفدر گیهان پناه مملکت صدر کریم   یافته توفیق خیر از فضل رب العالمین

مسجد جامع بنا کرد انچنان کاندر جهان   طاق [و ؟] بنیاد آمدش باماه و ماهی همنشین

(۲) منبر و محرابش از فرط علو مرتبه   یافت إن رونق که تحسین می کند روح الامین

و این[3] ندا از عالم بالا همی اید فرود   هذه جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدین

[1] *ARIE*, 1955-56, No. D, 87; *Ibid.*, 1953-54, No. C, 91; Blochmann, *JASB*, vol. XLII (1873), pp. 306-07; ʻAskarī, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[2] ʻAskarī, *op. cit.*; Diwakar, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

[3] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, reads ' وین '.

چارشنبه بیست هفتم مه ز ایام صیام   هیصد[1] و پنجاه و نه بودست تاریخ از سنین

در بقاء خیر او احمد همی خواهد بجان   روح پاک شیخ شرف الحق و الدین را معین

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Compassionate. He (the Prophet) upon whom be peace has said, ' He who builds a mosque for Allāh, there is a house for him in Paradise.'

Great God! In the time of Nāṣir-i-Dunyā-wa-Dīn (defender of the world and the Faith), Shāh Maḥmūd, son of Ibrāhīm, the upright,

the hero of the world, the shelter of the kingdom, the noble chief (*ṣadr*), received guidance to undertake this charitable act through the bounty of the Lord of the Universe.

He built such a Jāmi' mosque on the earth that its arch [and] its foundation touch (respectively) the moon and the Fish.[2]

(2) Its pulpit and niche due to their extremely exalted position, have received such a lustre that even the Holy Spirit (Gabriel) admires them,

and this voice from the world above comes down continuously saying, '*These are the eternal gardens, enter them for ever.*'[3]

Wednesday, the twentyseventh of the month of fasting (i.e. Ramaḍān) (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and fiftynine was the date (of its construction) (27th Ramaḍān A. H. 859=10th September 1455 A.D.).

For the perpetuity of his bounty (i.e. the mosque), Aḥmad sincerely prays to the holy soul of Shaikh Sharafu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn for help.[4]

The tablet bearing the other of the above two records of Maḥmūd Shāh and the last of the group is now lying horizontally on two small pillars in the Amber *dargāh* at Bihar Sharif and measures 1·25 m. by 40 cm.[5] Unfortunately, the text consisting of two lines of writing is badly damaged and the letters have become indistinct. This fact coupled with the manner in which the letters are inscribed one upon another has rendered its decipherment extremely difficult. Blochmann who first noticed this record was able to decipher it in parts,[6] while subsequently Prof. 'Askarī deciphered with difficulty some more portion.[7]

Apparently not *in situ*, the inscription is originally from the Paharpur Jāmi' mosque as recorded by Blochmann.[8] Like the previous epigraph from the same mosque, this inscription records the construction of a Jāmi' mosque in 1455 A.D., during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh. It also gives the name of Malik Naṣīr, son of Bahā, *muqti'* of the *shiq* of Bihar as the builder.

The language of the record is mainly Persian verse and the style of writing *Naskh*. The text is composed by one Faḍlu'llāh about whom nothing is known.

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[1] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, reads ' هشصد '. For Blochmann's remarks on ' هیصد ', see *PASB*, *op. cit.*

[2] With 'و' between 'طاق' and 'بنیاد', the hemistich can be taken to illustrate 'لف و نشر مرتب'.

[3] Cf. *Qur'ān*, chapter XCVIII, verse 8.

[4] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, wrongly translates it as: ' Aḥmad (the Prophet) sincerely (*bajān*) desires to protect this religious building for the sake of the pure spirit of Shaikh Sharafu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn.'

[5] *ARIE*, 1953-54, No. C, 91.

[6] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 306-07.

[7] 'Askarī, *op. cit.*, p. 18, f.n. 6.

[8] *Ibid.* takes it to be from another congregational mosque, but in view of the date etc., Blochmann's view (*op. cit.*, p. 305) seems to be more probable.

It has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XV (b)

(۱) [بسم الله ال]رحمن [الرحیم قال] النبی علیه السلام من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بینا فی الجنة

مسجد جامع بتوفیق خداوندٌ الاه   وا[1] از طفیل مصطفاء صاحب تمکین و جاه

شد بعهد دولت شاهی که صیت عدل او   مغرب و مشرق گرفت از پشت ماهی تابماه

إنکك پور شاه ابراهیم عادل سرفراز   آفتاب سلطنت شاهجهان محمود شاه

(۲) [2]این بناء خیر را کرده نصیر ابن بها   مقطع شق بهار و دستگیر و دادخواه

اشرف الحق اکرم وارشد بجود ؟ اینچنین   دولت آورده به تدبیر .... عالمپناه ؟

نزهت بیت المقدس حرمت بیت الحرام   مسجدی بنمود چون بیت علو بارگاه

بنده فضل الله نبشته بیست هفتم از صیام   هیصد و پنجاه و نه تاریخ بود و سال و ماه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Compassionate. (The Prophet) upon whom be peace has said, 'One who builds a mosque for Allāh, Allāh will build for him a house like it in paradise.'

The Jāmi' mosque, by the grace of the Almighty God and through the blessings of Muṣṭafā, the master of authority and dignity,

was constructed during the reign of a king, the fame of whose justice covers the west and the east from the back of the Fish to the moon,

he who is the son of Ibrāhīm Shāh, the just, the exalted, (namely) the sun of the empire, king of the world, Maḥmūd Shāh.

(2) The construction of this worthy edifice was undertaken by Naṣīr, son of Bahā, the *muqṭi'* of the *shiq* of Bihār, the protector and lover ofj ustice,

the most noble, illustrious and rightly guided, who through such generosity gathered good fortune through deliberation..............

(The mosque has) the purity of the Holy house (at Jerusalem) and the chastity of the Sacred house (of Ka'ba). He constructed a mosque like the mansion of the lofty audience-hall.

The creature Faḍlu'llāh wrote that twentyseventh from the (days of) fasting (Ramaḍān), (AH.) eight hundred and fiftynine was the date and the year and the month (27th Ramaḍān A.H. 859=10th September 1455 A.D.).

Naṣīr, son of Bahā, the builder of the Jāmi' mosque and governor of Bihar, is also mentioned in another inscription of the same ruler, dated A.H. 847 (1443 A.D.), from the same place, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[3]

[1] Thus in the estampage.

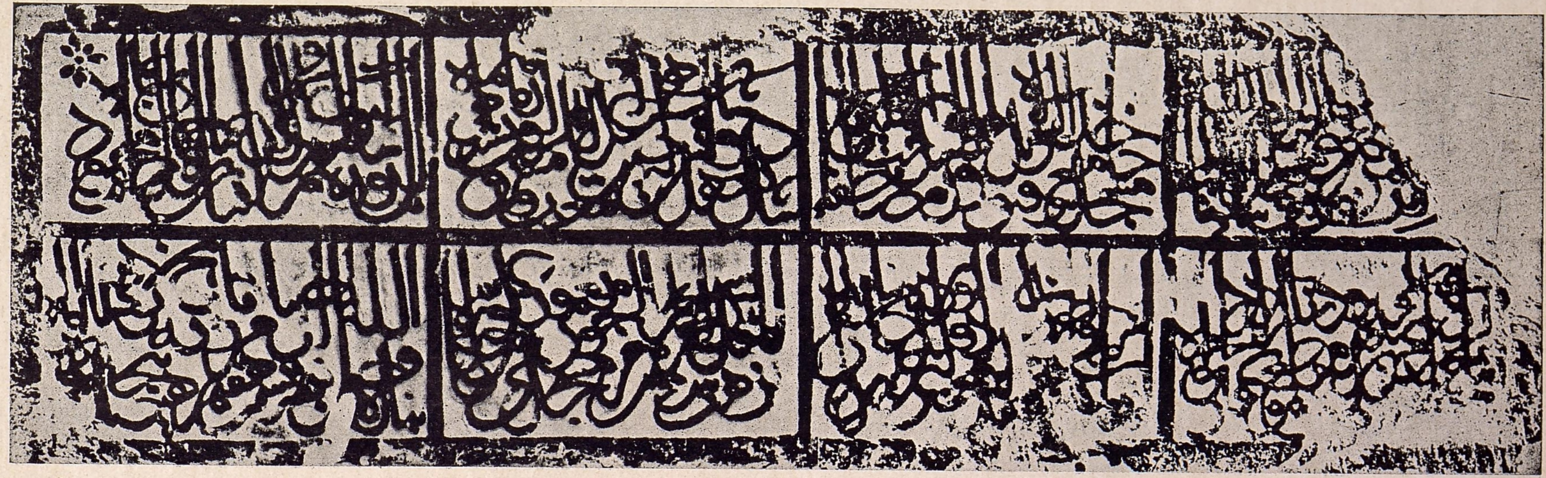
[2] The reading of these lines, due to the damaged writing, is doubtful.

[3] *EIAPS*, 1955 and 56, pp. 11-12 (pl. IIIa).

(*a*) Sharqī inscription, dated A.H. 859, from Bihar Sharif (p. 50)

SCALE ; ·12

(*b*) Fragmentary Sharqī epigraph, same date, same place (p. 52)



SCALE ; ·18

BAHMANI INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAICHUR DISTRICT

By A. A. Kadiri

So far, the inscriptions from Raichur have been published in three groups : Mr. E. Rehatsek studied without illustrations three ' Ādil Shāhī records, the photographs of which were sent to him by Dr. Burgess.[1] Two of these as well as nine more including two records of Maḥmūd Bahmanī —all of which were later on removed to the State Museum, Hyderabad—were edited by K. M. Aḥmad,[2] and one badly damaged inscription of Muḥammad Shāh I Bahmanī, also housed in the said museum, was noticed by Dr. Z. A. Desai.[3] Lastly texts of almost all the available inscriptions of Raichur including those of the above-mentioned epigraphs were published without illustrations except in very few cases in an Urdu work on the history of Bijapur by Maulvī Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, whose readings, however, are full of mistakes.[4]

The office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, Nagpur, copied in 1957 the Raichur inscriptions except two or three, rubbings of which could not be prepared due to adverse weather.[5] Prior to that the Archaeological Department of the H. E. H. Nizam's Dominions, had copied in all thirtyfour inscriptions from Raichur in 1929-30.[6]

Raichur *doāb*, the fertile tract between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, has an extremely rich history from the earliest times. Apart from its agricultural and mineral resources, it was on account of its strategic importance a cause of continuous quarrels between the Western Chaulukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas and later on between the Yādavas and the Hoysalas.[7] It first came under the Muslims in 1313 A.D., when Malik Nāib, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī's general, after vanquishing the last Yādava king pushed on further to the south, captured Gulbarga and annexed the tract after reducing its chief fortresses Raichur and Mudgal.[8] Very little of its history in the subsequent few years is known, but we hear of the founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty, Harihara I, having been made governor of Bellary and a part of the *doāb* by Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughluq, sometime after 1327 A.D.[9] The region must have continued under Tughluq authority, since as late as in 1345 A.D. we find that the *amīrān-i-ṣada* of Raichur and Mudgal were ordered by the Sulṭān to accompany the troops to Gujarat.[10] It is natural that Bahmanī kingdom, established in 1347 A.D.,

[1] E. Rehatsek, ' Three Inscriptions from Raichur ', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 130-31.

[2] K. M. Aḥmad, ' Inscriptions of Raichur in the Hyderabad Museum', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40, pp. 10-23, pls. IVb-Xa.

[3] Z. A. Desai, ' Inscriptions from the State Museum, Hyderabad ', *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1959 and 60, p. 32.

[4] Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāqi'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr* (Agra, 1915), part I, p. 297 f.n. and part III, pp. 297-357.

[5] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1958-59, Nos. D, 128-157.

[6] These have been only enumerated in G. Yazdani, *Report of the Archaeological Department of H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions*, 1929-30, p. 51, App. H.

[7] P. M. Joshi, ' Rāichur Doāb in Deccan Hisotry—Reinterpretation of a Struggle ', *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XXXVI (1958), part IV, pp. 379-81.

[8] T. W. Haig, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), p. 118.

[9] H. K. Sherwānī, *Bahmanīs of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 23, 438.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

also inherited the *doāb* which towards the close of the reign of ʻAlāu'd-Dīn Bahman Shāh, its founder, was put along with the capital Gulbarga in charge of Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Ghorī.[1] The first clash between the Bahmanī and the Vijaynagara arms over the region took place in about 1362 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh I and ever since, the *doāb* continued to be a bone of contention between the Bahmanīs and their successors in the region, the ʻĀdil Shāhīs on one hand and the Vijayanagara kings on the other, till Rāmarāya was defeated and killed in the battle of Raksasatagadi in 1565 A.D. As there is no complete accord between the various authorities regarding the Bahmanī-Vijayanagara conflict over the *doāb*, and particularly since the Arabic and Persian inscriptions set up during this period at Raichur have not been taken into account by the leading authorities on this subject, it would not be out of place to give a brief résumé of the conflict in the light of the said epigraphical evidence.

Sometime after the accession of Muḥammad Shāh I, Bukka I of Vijayanagara demanded the *doāb* from the former on the ground that it had always belonged to the southern state.[2] The former refusing to comply, Bukka invaded the region in 1362 A.D. and is said to have temporarily captured Raichur along with six other forts on the Bahmanī border.[3] However, according to some authorities, the Rāya had captured only Mudgal, but retreated leaving fifty elephants and other booty when Muḥammad I appeared.[4] Subsequently, the Vijayanagara army was defeated again somewhere near the village of Kautalam in 1366 A.D., and Muḥammad I marched victorious to the city of Vijayanagara, but later retreated, pursued by Bukka's forces which were, however, attacked and repelled, once the Bahmanī king was in his own land this side of the Tungabhadra. After this the Rāya appealed for peace which lasted until the death in 1375 A.D. of the Bahmanī monarch.[5]

The short reign of Muḥammad I's successor Mujāhid Shāh (1375-78 A.D.) was marked by a war of nerves against Vijayanagara. In the early days of his rule, Mujāhid wrote to Bukka to fix the Tungabhadra as the frontier and transfer the fort of Bankapur to him, to avoid future frictions over the *doāb*. But Bukka reiterated his claim over the region and also demanded the fifty elephants captured by Muḥammad Shāh I. This resulted in the expedition of Mujāhid against Vijayanagara.[6] On the death of Mujāhid, Harihara II, the new Rāya, crossed the Tungabhadra and laid seige to Raichur, but eventually raised it and retired across the Tungabhadra, on learning of the unanimity with which Muḥammad Shāh II was enthroned in 1378 A.D.[7]

Thereafter the two kingdoms reigned in peace till 1398 A.D., when the Vijayanagara army again crossed the Tungabhadra and advanced simultaneously against Mudgal, Raichur and other Bahmanī possessions in the *doāb*.[8] Fīrūz Bahmanī who had by this time ascended the throne, defeated Harihara II, made him pay ten *lacs* of *hūns* as tribute[9] and appointed Faulād Khān, son of Ṣafdar Khān Sīstānī as the governor of the *doāb*, hitherto a part of the Gulbarga province from which it was now separated.[10]

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[1] Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[2] Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. I (Lucknow, 1864-65), p. 283 ; R. C. Majumdar and others, ed., *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), pp. 251-52.

[3] Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras, 1919), p. 180.

[4] Firishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-90.

[5] Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-97.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-23.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 126 ; Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[9] Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (Hyderabad, 1936), pp. 42, 45 gives 30 or 33 lacs *tankas*.

[10] Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

However, some authorities have questioned the success of this expedition.[1] Likewise they have also expressed their doubt on the success of Fīrūz in his second campaign of 1406 A.D. against Vijayanagara.[2] From the statement of Ṭabāṭabā, Professor Venkataramanayya is inclined to infer that the Sulṭān's campaign was confined to the Deodurg *tāluk* in the north-west of the Raichur district, from which he returned to his capital. According to him, it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the events of the campaign in view of the conflicting evidence of the Muslim historians, but at the same time he finds it hard to believe that Fīrūz could reach the city of Vijayanagara without any opposition.[3] According to Dr. Joshi also, the *doāb* had remained in possession of the Vijayanagara king aftar this campaign and even Fīrūz's third campaign of 1417-20 could not wrest the *doāb* from his hands.[4] As against this, the success of the campaign is vividly described by Firishta the much maligned historian whose account does not carry any weight with these authorities 'in the absence of corroborative evidence of more trustworthy character.' That Firishta was more truthful in his account of the campaign is more than implied by the evidence of an inscription included in the present study (No. 1). This epigraph refers to the construction of a mosque under royal orders in A.H. 809 (1406-07 A.D.) after the conquest of the fort of Manvi, the findspot of the record. This clearly shows that Fīrūz had not only not confined his attack to the north-west part of the Raichur district but had also recaptured the *doāb* towards its south-western limits, where Manvi is situated. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that Fīrūz had gone far beyond Manvi, and Firishta may be right in making him go right upto Vijayanagara. Also, the 1417 A.D. campaign does not seem to have much to do with the *doāb*, which in all probability remained with the Bahmanīs and not in the possession of Vijayanagara as stated by Dr. Joshi. For, if the *status quo* of the second campaign was maintained, the *doāb* should, as seen above, have remained in Bahmanī possession and moreover, if the *doāb* were in possession of Vijayanagara, where was the need for Deva Rāya to re-establish his authority over that region at this time as asserted by Prof. Venkataramanayya ?[5] Professor Venkataramanayya has also expressed doubts about Dev Rāya's being forced to sue for peace and agree to pay tribute as stated by Firishta.[6] That Firishta is not as irresponsible for this statement as the learned writer would like us to believe, is also indicated by the Sanskrit version of a bilingual record, originally from a step-well at Bidad and now in the State Museum, Hyderabad. Dated the 21st September 1444 A.D. it also speaks of Dev Rāya as paying tribute to Aḥmad Shāh I.[7] Also, according to Ṭabāṭabā, Raichur along with Cheul and their dependencies were granted to Dā'ūd Khān in A.H. 837 (1433-34 A.D.).[8] Two years later taking advantage of the Bahmanī prince Maḥmūd Khān's rebellion, the *doāb* was again attacked and Mudgal fort captured by the Vijayanagara forces, but the Mudgal fort along with others was again taken back by Aḥmad II in about A.H. 841 (1437-38 A.D.).[9]

The *doāb* thus seems to have continued to be ruled by Bahmanīs upto 1443 A.D. In that year, Deva Rāya II crossed the Tungabhadra and captured Mudgal, sending his sons against Raichur and Bankapur.[10] Ultimately, however, the Rāya was compelled to sue for peace which was concluded on the promise on his part to pay up all the arrears of tribute and effect cessation of hostilities.[11]

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[1] Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-55, 283.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 285.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 255.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[7] For this inscription, see p. 82, *supra*.

[8] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[10] Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Anyway, we hear next of the *doāb* in 1492 A.D.[1] when Qāsim Barīd, being alarmed at the growing power of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, invited the Vijayanagara king to attack Raichur and Mudgal in the *doāb* which then formed part of 'Ādil Khān's *jāgīr*.[2] Between 1443 A.D. and 1492 A.D., the Bahmanīs do not appear to have had any difficulty in the *doāb*, for we have at least three inscriptions at Raichur itself (Nos. 2-4), dated A.H. 873 (1468-69 A.D.), A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) and A.H. 885 (1480-81 A.D.) acknowledging the Bahmanī sovereignty. The said two forts were lost to Nārāyan Nāyaka in 1492 A.D.[3] for a while, but were recovered in the same year by Maḥmūd who had come to the rescue of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān and granted to the latter.[4] Anyway, there appears little doubt that the *doāb* mostly remained in the possession of the Bijapur governors, first under the nominal authority of the Bahmanīs and later on under their independent rule. We have at least two inscriptions at Raichur, mentioning (Ismā'īl) 'Ādil Khān which are dated 1510-11 and 1513-14 A.D.[5] Krishnadevarāya of Vijayanagara is said to have again invaded the *doāb* in 1512 A.D. and captured Raichur which could not be defended by Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, then a minor.[6] These authorities also speak of Ismā'īl's futile attempt in A.H. 927 (1521 A.D.) to recover the *doāb* from Vijayanagara.[7] But these accounts seem to be in contradiction, at least partially, with the epigraphical evidence. For, we have near Raichur itself an inscription (No. 6) dated A.H. 918 (1512-13 A.D.), containing the text of a *qaulnāma* issued by Maliku'sh-Sharq 'Ambar. There is one more record (No. 7) acknowledging Maḥmūd Bahmanī's sovereignty and Ismā'īl 'Ādil's governorship in A.H. 919 (1513-14 A.D.). There is yet another, which though unfortunately undated, was set up in the time of Ismā'īl's governorship and obviously belongs to about this time (No. 8). This would either mean that Krishnadevarāya was not able to consolidate his hold over the *doāb*, if at all he had captured it, in 1512 A.D. or at the most, the region may have changed hands more than once between 1512 A.D. and 1520 A.D. when Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, coming to power after the overthrow of the regent Kamāl Khān, is said to have made an unsuccessful bid to regain the area. But the Bijapur king was able to reduce the *doāb* without much difficulty in 1530 A.D. after the death of Krishnadevarāya.[8]

Approximately from this time onwards, the dispute over the Raichur *doāb* was carried on between the Vijayanagara empire and the independent kingdom of Bijapur, since the Bahmanī rule had come to a virtual end with the death of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī in 1518 A.D., though their overlordship continued to be acknowledged, however nominally, till about 1538 A.D.

Seven of the eight inscriptions studied below range in their dates from A.H. 809 (1406-07 A.D.) to A.H. 919 (1513-14 A.D.), while the eighth inscription which has been mutilated can be easily assigned, as will be discussed at the proper place, to about A.H. 918 or so. These epigraphs apart from throwing light on the Raichur *doāb* affairs, as discussed in the preceding lines, offer valuable information regarding the career of certain noblemen not to be found in historical works.

INSCRIPTION NO. 1

The earliest inscription is a new record of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (1397-1422 A.D.) and comes from Manvi, the headquarters of the *tāluk* of the same name in Raichur district.[9] The slab bearing

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[1] Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 383, gives 1493 A.D.

[2] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.* p. 144 ; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 371 ; Majumdar, op. cit., p. 304.

[3] Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72.

[4] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 371, follows Firishta but at p. 381 places the event in 1503 A.D., following Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57. The earlier date seems to be correct, for in A. H. 904 (1498-99 A.D.), Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥājī seems to have been stationed at Raichur as is implied by inscription No. 5 of this study.

[5] Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 15, however, takes the date A. H. 916 as Shuhūr San and quotes A. H. 921 (1515 A.D.), as its equivalent.

[6] Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 314 ; Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

[7] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 19 ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[8] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[9] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 215 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, part I, p. 297, f.n.

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, dated A.H. 809, from Manvi (p. 57)

Scale : ·18

(*b*) Bahmanī record, A.H. 873, from Raichur (p. 59)

Scale : ·06

Scale : ·08

the epigraph, reported to be fixed above the door of a mosque, measures 93 by 56 cm. and contains eight lines of writing in Persian verse cut in relief in *Naskh* characters. It is an important record in that it provides fresh evidence about the doubts raised by some modern authorities, as has been stated above, over the Bahmanī king's campaigns in the *doāb* and their success. The epigraph refers to the conquest of the fort, evidently of Manvi, by Abu'l-Fatḥ Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī who, it further states, placed it in charge of Malik Ṣafdar, the chief of chiefs. It also records that Muḥammad Ẓahīr Aqchī constructed a mosque on the site of a temple in 1406-07 A.D.

It is difficult to ascertain the identity of Malik Ṣafdar who received the charge of the fort and perhaps its dependencies. It may be pointed out in this connexion that according to Firishta, Faulād Khān, son of Ṣafdar Khān Sīstānī was appointed governor of the Raichur *doāb* in 1398 A.D. or about a decade before the date of our inscription.[1] Likewise, nothing is known about Muḥammad Ẓahīr Aqchī, the builder of the mosque.

An eye reading of this inscription was published by Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, but it is hopelessly corrupt as will be seen from the text quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(١) هو العلام

(٢) بحمد الله از حکم پروردگار   ز بتخانه شد مسجد دین شعار

(٣) بعصر [2]شهنشاه کشور کشاء   شه دین پنه خسرو تاجدار

(۴) جوان ملک فیروز شه بهمنی   [3]که در باغ دینست ازو نوبهار

(۵) [3]ابوالفتح شاهی که برپشت اسپ   بیک عزم [4]دل فتح کرد این حصار

(٦) پس از فتح شاهنشه این قلعه یافت   [5]سر سروران صفدر روزگار

(٧) بنا ساز این سجده‌گاه شریف   محمد ظهیر اقچی [6]دین مدار

(٨) [7]بهیصد نه از هجرت مصطفا   بنا [8]کرده چون کعبه این یادگار

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[1] Firishta, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 311.

[2] Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, has 'شهنشاے'.

[3] *Ibid.* omits these two hemistiches.

[4] *Ibid.* reads 'در'.

[5] *Ibid.* reads 'بسر'.

[6] *Ibid.* reads 'ملاذ'.

[7] *Ibid.* reads 'بهفصد نناد' and gives in figure A.H. 790

[8] *Ibid.* reads 'کرد'.

TRANSLATION

(1) He (Allāh) is Omniscient.

(2) Praise be to Allāh that by the decree of the Nourisher, a mosque has been converted out of a temple as a sign of religion,

(3) in the reign of the world-conquering emperor, the king who is the asylum of Faith and possessor of the crown,

(4) whose kingdom is young (i.e. flourishing), viz. Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, who is the cause of exuberent spring in the garden of religion,

(5) Abu'l-Fatḥ, the king, who conquered this fort by the firm determination of his mind in a single attack (lit. on horseback).

(6) After the victory of the emperor, the chief of chiefs, Ṣafdar (lit. the valiant commander) of the age, received (the charge of) the fort.

(7) The builder of this noble place of prayer is Muḥammad Ẓahīr Aqchī, the pivot of the Faith.

(8) He constructed in the year eight hundred and nine from the Migration of the Chosen (prophet Muḥammad) (A.H. 809=1406-07 A.D.) this Ka'ba-like memento.

INSCRIPTION NO. 2

The second inscription was found in the fort of Raichur.[1] The two huge epigraphical tablets said to have originally belonged to the Kamānī gate, no more extant, are now fixed inside the gate called Kāṭī-Darwāza. Obviously due to their exposure to elements of nature, the tablets have weathered and the writing thereon slightly damaged in a few places. The upper slab measuring about 3·05 m. by 51 cm. is inscribed with two lines of writing, executed in bold *Naskh* of inferior order, containing the First Creed followed by a line in Persian purporting that the gate was constructed by Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ in 1468-69 A.D. in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn. The lower slab measuring 2·27 m. by 37 cm. contains a text of two verses in Persian engraved in the same hand, which merely invokes prayers for the edurance and propitiousness of the structure.

Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ who was also responsible for setting up at Raichur three more inscriptions, dated A.H. 874 (1469-70 A.D.) and A.H. 885 (1480-81 A.D.), two of which will be studied next, was surnamed 'Deccani'.[2] A noble of high rank, he played an important part in the reigns of five Bahmanī sovereigns, namely, Aḥmad II, Humāyūn, Niẓām Shāh, Muḥammad III and Maḥmūd.[3] His father's name is given by Firishta as Qāsim Baig Ṣaf Shikan.[4]

According to Ṭabāṭabā, Aḥmad I had devised and conferred the title of Mallū Khān for the *sarnaubat-i-maisara*, and his successor Aḥmad II had also followed his father's policy,[5] but it is not clear from his account if the incumbent of that post under Aḥmad II and Mallū Khān of our records are identical. Anyway, Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ appears to be the one appointed by Aḥmad II at whose death he, along with some other nobles, supported the cause of Ḥasan Khān to the throne, but fled the capital when Humāyūn was acclaimed king. Mallū Khān went to Raichur but was

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[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 128; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, part III, pp. 335-36.

[2] Firishta, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 345.

[3] Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 7, f.n. 3.

[4] Firishta, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 362.

[5] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

subsequently won over and comforted by the queen-mother and was given charge of the Bidar fort.[1] After the death in A.H. 886 (1481 A.D.) of Maḥmūd Gāwān who had held the territory of Bijapur, Mallū Khān was made one of the lieutenants of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, who received the province of Bijapur.[2] He is one of the prominent nobles who were absent on the occasion of the coronation of Maḥmūd and it was no doubt due to the great importance attached to these high personages that Malik Nāib Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Baḥrī made a provision that when they arrived at Bidar the capital, the ceremony would be held again.[3]

The text of the record under study is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(*a*) *Upper slab.*

(۱) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(۲) در عهد محمد شاه[4] بن هما[یو]نشاه بن[4] سلطان علاء[الد]ین بناکرده خان اعظم ملو خان حافظ[4] سنه ثلاث و سبعین و ثمانمایه

(*b*) *Lower slab.*

(۱) این در همیشه در همه عالم کشاده باد دشمن بزیر خاک درین در فتاده باد

(۲) یارب مباد[5] این در خالی ز خان چنین اقبال و عز و دولت [و] شادی مدام باد

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) The First Creed.

(2) In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn, (the gate was) constructed by Khān-i-A'ẓam Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventythree (A.H. 873=1468-69 A.D.).

(*b*) (1) May this gate be always open to the whole world! May the enemy be under the dust in this gate!

(2) O Lord! May this gate be never bereft of such a Khān! May he always be prosperous, honourable, fortunate and happy!

INSCRIPTION NO. 3

The third inscription, dated 1469-70 A.D., is found over the inner side of the second gate of the Makkī-Darwāza of the Raichur fort.[6] The inscriptional slab measures 2·43 m. by 33 cm. and contains only one line of writing in Persian executed in relief in *Naskh* characters. The record

[1] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[2] Firishta, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 361.

[3] *Ibid.*; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

[4] Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 335, omits these words.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 336, reads ' مال این در عالی بحال خیر '.

[6] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 133, ; Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51 App. H, No. II or III.

mentions the construction of the gate by the same Mallū Khān Ḥafīẓ in the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. The text of this inscription also was published by Bashīru'd-Dīn.[1]

Its text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (*a*)

در عهد سلطان محمد شاه بناکرده خان اعظم ملو خان حافظ سنه اربع سبعین و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

In the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, the construction (of this gate) was carried out by Khān-i-A'ẓam Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ, in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and seventyfour (A.H. 874=1469-70 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 4

The fourth inscription is engraved on a slab measuring 40 by 76 cm. which is fixed into the ground in the park called Maḥbūb-Gulshan on the outskirts of the town of Raichur.[2] It consists roughly speaking of six[3] lines of Persian prose written in *Naskh* characters of an inferior type and refers to the same Khān-i-A'ẓam Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ as the builder of some structure in 1480-81 A.D. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. It is difficult to establish the exact nature of the construction, since no data are available about the original findspot of the inscription.

Its text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (*b*)

(۱) در عهد

(۲) افضل سلاطین

(۳) محمد شاه بن همایونشاه

(۴) بناکرد خان اعظم

(۵) ملو خان حافظ

(۶) سنه[4] خمسة و[5] ثمانینو ثمانمایه

[1] Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

[2] *ARIE, op. cit.*, No. D, 156 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 315 ; Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51, App. H, No. XXXIII.

[3] The words are not written in regular order in a line ; for example " طین " of " سلاطین " in the second line has been inscribed in the first line and " بن " of the third line is written between the first and second lines.

[4] Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 315, reads ' من '.

[5] *Ibid.* reads ' ثمانون مایة '.

(*a*) Bahmanī inscription, dated A.H. 874, from Raichur (p. 60)

Scale : ·08

(*b*) Another record, dated A.H. 885, same place (p. 60)

Scale : ·15

Deed of endowment, dated A.H. 904, from Raichur (p. 61)

Scale : ·11

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of

(2) the most excellent of the kings,

(3) Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humāyūn Shāh,

(4) (this) was constructed by Khān-i-A'ẓam,

(5) Mallū Khān Ḥāfiẓ,

(6) (in) the year (A.H.) eight hundred and eightyfive (A.H. 885=1480-81 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 5

The fifth inscription is engraved on four slabs—the first measuring 2.05 m. by 30 cm. and the remaining three jointly measuring 5.85 m. by 19 cm.—which are fixed on the frieze over the open facade of the Daftarī-Masjid, situated opposite the jail inside the Raichur fort.[1] It consists of one line of Arabic and Persian prose written in *Naskh* characters of an inferior order. The letters on the first slab are larger in size than those on the remaining slabs, as is the case with inscription No. 7 of this group. The epigraph registers the deed of an endowment made by Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Ḥājī, son of Sulaimān Qirmānī[2] of 9 *chāwars* of land in the village Gabur in Raichur district—8 *chāwars* for the leader of prayers, the caller to prayers, etc., and 1 *chāwar* for the managing trustee of the mosque—and also of 40 shops in the city of Raichur near the monument for meeting the expenditure incurred on the mosque. It is dated 1498-99 A.D. Its text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII

(*a*) *First slab.*

الحمد لله رب العالمين و الصلوة على سيدنا محمد و اله اجمعين اما بعد وقف كرد و تصدق

نمود [3]طالبا لمرضات الله [4]ملک الشرق المتوکل علی الله الرحمانی ملک حاجی بن سلیمان قرمانی

مقدار نه چاور زمین در گبور

(*b*) *Second slab.*

[م]ن اعمال [5]معاملت رائچور بر حفاظ و امام و موذن مسجد مسطور فیه هشت چاور زمین

برای حافظان و امام و موذن و یکک چاور برای متولی باشد و [6]ایضا وقف نمود

[1] *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, No. D, 139 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-31. Though this as well as the next inscription do not mention the name of the then ruling Bahmanī king Maḥmūd Shāh, they are included in the present study since they mention high officials who seem to have been in charge of the fort and the district.

[2] Maliku'sh-Sharq Ḥājī is unknown to history, but he is mentioned in a new record as having uilt a ,Jāmi-mosque and created an endowment for it in 1506 A.D. (*ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 143).

[3] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, reads " ظل اله ".

[4] *Ibid.* reads " ملک المعاشر ".

[5] *Ibid.* reads " بعلماء ".

[6] *Ibid.* reads " واوصا ".

(c) *Third slab.*

چهل دکان موصوفه محدوده واقع در رائچور در جنب مسجد مذکور از تعمیر و روغن چراغ

و فرش و سایر [1]مصالح وقفی صحیح شرعی و [2]شرط کرد واقف [3]که لعنت بر آنکس باد که

مطلع شود

(d) *Fourth slab.*

[4]و برین وقفیت و تغیر و تبدیل این نماید کما قال الله تبارک و تعالی فی محکم کتابه

مناع للخیر معتد اثیم گردد مورخا سنه اربع و تسعمایه

TRANSLATION

(a) Praise be to Allāh, the Lord of the worlds, and salutations be on our leader (the Prophet) Muḥammad and on all his progeny. Coming to the point, by way of seeking the pleasure of Allāh, the Maliku'sh-Sharq (who is) dependent upon Allāh the Merciful, Malik Ḥājī, son of Sulaimān Qirmānī, dedicated and gave in charity a piece of nine *chāwars* of land in Gabūr

(b) in the jurisdiction of the district of Raichur, for the *ḥuffāẓ* (those who have learnt the *Qur'ān* by heart), the *imām* (the leader of prayers) and the *mu'adhdhin* (the caller for prayers) of the said mosque. (Of these), eight *chāwars* of land is meant for the *ḥāfiẓs*, the *īmām* and the *mu'adhdhin*, and one *chāwar* of land for the *mutawallī*. Likewise, he also endowed

(c) forty shops described and defined, situated in Rāichūr by the side of the said mosque, to meet the expenditure of repairs, oil for lamps, matresses and all other heads of expenditure sanctioned by religion in connection with a pious bequest. And the testator has put forth a condition that curse be on that person who is aware (of this endowment) and

(d) knowingly makes any change or appropriation in this (bequeathed property) ; he will become, in accordance with what has been said by Allāh the Exalted and the Glorious in the Irrevocable book (i.e. *Qur'ān*), the '*forbidder of good, transgressor and sinful*'.[5] Dated in the year (A.H.) nine hundred and four (A.H. 904=1498-99 A.D.).

It will be observed that the village in which the endowed land was situated is spelt in the inscription as 'گبور'. There are two places in Raichur district bearing this name: Gabur and Gabbur. The former is situated at a distance of about thirteen miles north-west of Raichur itself, while the other lies in the south-west part of the district, at a distance of about 2 miles from the Ginigera railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the Southern Railway. It is evident that Gabur near the district headquarters is the village intended in our record.

---

[1] Bashīru'd-Din, *op. cit.*, reads "مصلے الوقفی".

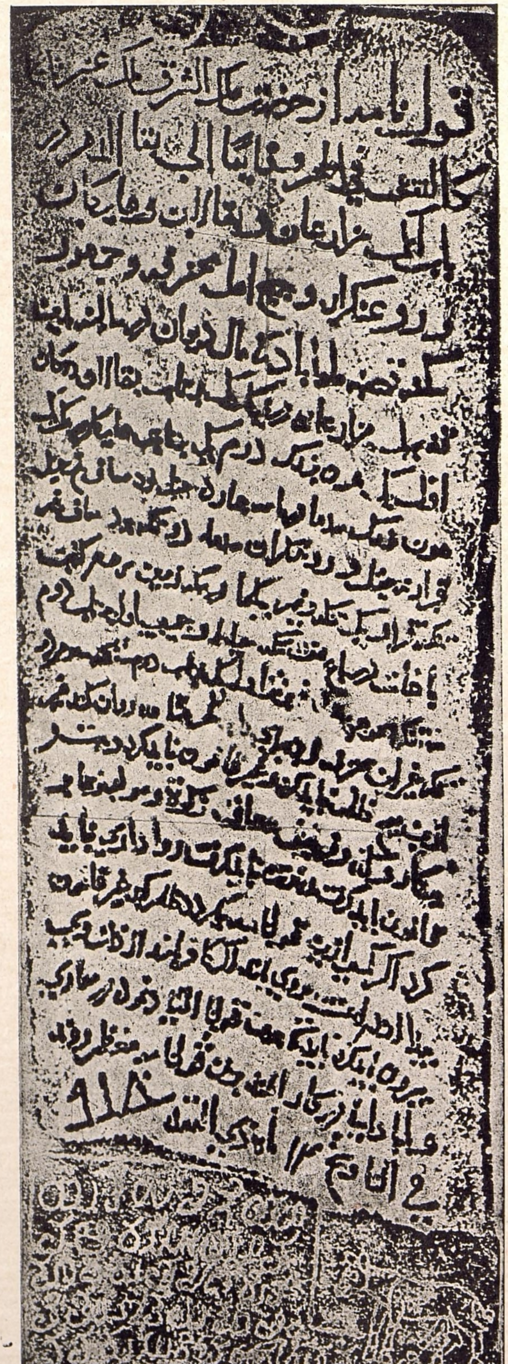
[2] *Ibid.* reads "شرط گیرد".

[3] *Ibid.* reads "کرامت".

[4] This "و" appears to be redundant.

[5] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXVIII, verse 12.

Qaulnāma, dated A.H. 918, from Maliabad (p. 63)



INSCRIPTION NO. 6

The sixth inscription is found at the village Maliabad in Raichur *tāluk.*[1] The inscriptional slab measuring 60 cm. by 1.71 m. is lying loose in the local mosque and contains a bilingual record of twentyone lines of writing executed in ordinary *Naskh* in relief and five lines incised in Kannaḍa characters. Unfortunately, the writing is damaged and weather-beaten in the most part, the slab having remained exposed to elements of weather for a long time. It is, therefore, a pity that it was not possible to decipher the full text of this extremely interesting record which forms the text of a *qaulnāma* issued in 1513 A.D. by Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik 'Ambar granting reductions in the levies on the village-communities like farmers, oil-sellers, weavers, tailors, etc., and prohibiting collection of the same by rates other than those laid down in the order. It also prohibits the practice of forced labour, unreasonable demand, etc. The *qaulnāma* ends with an imprecation against those officials who might seek to disregard the said order. The Kannaḍa portion which was kindly examined by the office of the Government Epigraphist, Ootacamund, is reported by him to consist of only the imprecatory portion with which late inscriptions usually end. The language of the Persian version is unsatisfactory.

This Maliku'sh-Sharq 'Ambar who is incidentally mentioned in the next inscription also appears to be an official of note, though I have failed to trace any reference to him in historical records.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX

(۱) قول نامه از حضرت ملک الشرق ملک عنبر ثابتاً

(۲) کالنقش فی الحجر و قایما الی بقا[ء] الدهر در

(۳) باب آنکه مزارعان و بقالان و حایکان

(۴) و روغنگران و جمیع اهل محترفه و جمهور

(۵) سکنه قصبه ملیاباد کی مال دیوان در سالینه بدین

(۶) تفصیل مزار عان [2]درین گه یک پرتاب بقالان دوگان

(۷) اول یک هون بزرگ دوم یک پرتاب حایکان هریک یک

(۸) هون بزرگ مبدهان ماهه چهارده جیتل بود معاف پنج جیتل

(۹) قرار نه جیتل و روغنگران سابقا دوتنکه بود معاف نیم

(۱۰) تنکه قرار یک تنکه و نیم بیکچاور بیگه زمین مردم کشت

(۱۱) باغات و سباع هفت تنکه خیاط و جیبی اول جیتل دوم

---

[1] *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, No. D, 127. Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 585, gives an incomplete and a very corrupt reading.

[2] The reading of the underlined words is tentative.

(۱۲) سه تنکه .... اول یک پرتاب دوم سه تنکه سوم دو

(۱۳) تنکه غیر این محترفه کرده ...... گرفته آئنده روانه کنند غیر

(۱۴) ازین هیچ ظلم نباید کرد و غیر قانون نباید کرد وهبت و

(۱۵) بیگار و کند و فرمایش معاف زکوة و .... بر

(۱۶) قانون باید گرفت ازین بیش نباید گرفت رواداری نباید

(۱۷) کرد اگر کسی ازین قولنامه بگردد ظلم کند غیر قانون

(۱۸) پیدا اورد لعنت بروی باشد اگر کافر باشد از ذات وی

(۱۹) برون اید کرة باید که برین قولنامه انقیاد نموده در معاری

(۲۰) و آبادانے درکار آرند برین قولنامه معظم روند

(۲۱) فے التاریخ ۱۳ ماه ذی القعده سنه ۹۱۸

TRANSLATION

(1) (This) *qaulnāma* (issued) by Ḥaḍrat-i-Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik 'Ambar (which is) as steadfast

(2) as the engraving on stone and (which will) endure till the existence of the world, is with

(3) regard to this that the cultivators, the grocers, the weavers, the oil-sellers and all of the artisans and the entire population of the village Maliābād (should pay) the annual revenue as per following

(6) schedule : Cultivators one *partāp* each ; the grocers of two categories,

(7) the former, one large *hūn* and the other, one *partāp* ; the weavers,

(8) one large *hūn* each ; the irregular monthly (weavers) ? had to pay fourteen *jītals* : they are given exemption of five *jītals* (and)

(9) have to pay nine *jītals* ; the oil-sellers (who) had to pay two *ṭankas* in the past (have) exemption of half a

(10-11) *ṭanka* and have to pay one and a half *ṭanka* ; for each chāwar (or) *bīgha* land of the people (land for residence?), gardens and cattle (i.e. land for grazing), seven *ṭankas* ; the tailor and the..........one has to pay one *jītal* and the other

(12) three *ṭankas* ;....................the first, one *partāp*, the second three *ṭankas* and the third, two

(13) *ṭankas* ; apart from this, from the artisans..............................may be collected and forwarded later. Beyond

(14-15) this no oppression and illegal practice should be resorted to and the illegal gratification ?,

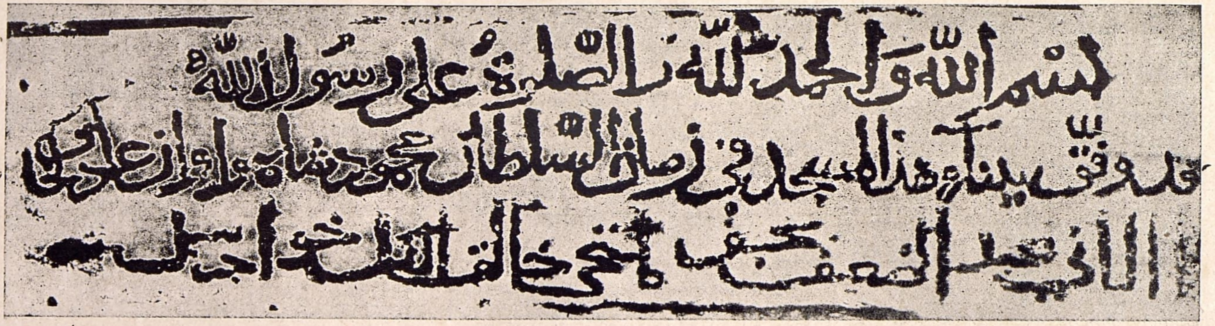
(16) forced labour,........and unauthorised demand are abolished. *Zakāt* and......may be collected in accordance with the law. Neither anything in excess of this should be taken nor should there be any leniency

PLATE XX

(*a*) Bahmanī record, dated A.H. 918, from Raichur (p. 65)

SCALE : ·09

(*b*) Another Bahmanī inscription, same place (p. 66)



SCALE : ·16

(17) shown. If anybody disobeys this *qaulnāma*, resorts to tyranny and carries on

(18) illegal acts, curse be on him. If he is an infidel, an outcast

(19) he will become. (It is stressed) once again that having submitted to this *qaulnāma*, (all) should apply it to barren

(20) as well as habited places (i.e. everywhere), and follow this illustrious *qaulnāma*.

(21) Dated the 14th of the month of Dhī'l-Qa'da A. H. 918 (21st January 1513 A.D.).

INSCRIPTION NO. 7

The seventh inscription belongs to the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī.[1] It runs into five couplets of Persian verse which are engraved on three tablets of unequal size—the upper slab measuring 2.21 m. by 27 cm. and the lower two 2.1 m. by 19 cm. and 1.33 m. by 19 cm. respectively—which are fixed over the main entrance of the Yak-Minār mosque[2] situated outside the fort of Raichur. The writing in the first slab is bolder than in the lower two slabs, while the *radīf* portion in the middle slab is engraved transversely and vertically. The epigraph records the construction of a mosque by 'Ambar in 1513 A.D. in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and during the governorship of 'Ādil Khān II by whom Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, the second Bijapur ruler, is meant. The 'Ambar of this record is undoubtedly identical with Maliku'sh-Sharq 'Ambar of the previous record (No. 6). This inscription is an important record as it provides, as discussed above in details, irrevocable evidence about the political status of Raichur in the early 16th century.

The text is inscribed in *Naskh* characters and may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX(a)

(۱) بعهد سلطنت شاه بهمنی محمود　　چنین عمارت خوب لطیف شد موجود

(۲) بدولت ملک الملک عادل ثانے　　درین خجسته مکان این چنین عمارت[3] شد

(۳) بنا نهاد یکی صاحب سخا و کرم　　که اسم عنبر و خلقش مثال عنبر بود

(۴) هر آنکسی که بدنیا بنای مسجد کرد　　عوض[4] ز خلد برینش جزادهد[5] معبود

(۵) بسال نوزده و نهصد از مه هجرت　　تمام گشت عمارت بطالع مسعود

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the Bahmanī king, Maḥmūd, such a graceful and fine edifice took shape.

(2) In the government of the Malik of the kingdom, 'Ādil the second (i.e. Ismā'īl 'Ādil), such a (beautiful) edifice was constructed in this auspicious place.

---

[1] *ARIE, op. cit.*, No. D, 141 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, pp. 322-23 ; G. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51, App. H, No. XIII.

[2] For a brief description of the mosque, see Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[3] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 322, reads 'کرد'.

[4] *Ibid.* reads 'غرض که'.

[5] *Ibid.* reads 'جزای خواهدبود'.

(3) It was built by one (who is) master of charity and generosity, who is named 'Ambar and whose disposition is as (pleasing as) ambergris.

(4) Whosoever builds a mosque in the world, in exchange for it, God bestows on him the reward of the highest heaven.

(5) In the year nine hundred and nineteen from the month of Migration (A.H. 919=1513-14 A.D.), this building was constructed through auspicious fortune.

INSCRIPTION NO. 8.

The tablet containing the last inscription of this group is now fixed over the entrance of the mosque of Hazāra Baig but is said to have been brought from behind the jail.[1] It measures 1.12m. by 31 cm. and contains three lines of writing in Arabic engraved in relief in ordinary *Naskh* letters. The epigraph is yet another record of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and refers to the construction of a mosque during the time of 'Ādil Khān II, that is to say, Ismā'īl 'Ādil of Bijapur, by Khwāja Sumbul. The letters in the date portion have been scrapped off and hence it is not possible to say exactly when the mosque was constructed. However, we may be able to fix the date approximately. There is at Bijapur a mosque popularly called Yūsuf's old Jāmi' mosque which was constructed according to the inscription on it by Khwāja Sumbul in Shuhūr San 918 corresponding to A.H. 923 (1517 A.D.), in the reign of Maḥmūd Bahmanī.[2] Now, our inscription was also set up in the reign of the same king who died in A.H. 924 (1518 A.D.) and therefore, the mosque must have been built before that date. Again, the present inscription was set up in the time of Ismā'īl 'Ādil who succeeded Yūsuf 'Ādil in A.H. 916 (1510-11 A.D.), and therefore, the mosque must have been constructed in or after A.H. 916. But since in the Bijapur inscription, Khwāja Sumbul is mentioned with the high designation of *nāib-i-ghaibat* of 'Ādil Khān, which title or for that purpose any other title is absent in the present record, it is reasonable to hold that our inscription was set up sometime before A.H. 923, the date of the Bijapur inscription. In other words, the mosque must have been constructed, soon after Ismā'īl's accession, in about A.H. 917-18 (1511-12 A.D.).

The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XX(b)

(۱) بسم الله و الحمد لله و الصلوة على رسول الله

(۲) قد وفق ببناء هذالمسجد فى زمان السلطان محمود شاه و اوان عادل [3] خان

(۳) الثانى عبد الضعيف نحيف ملتجى خالق الكل خواجه سنبل ....

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh. And praise be to Allāh, and salutations upon the prophet of Allāh.

(2-3) Verily, the humble and weak creature (who is) suppliant to the Creator of the universe, namely Khwāja Sumbul, was directed by God to construct this mosque in the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh and (during the) time (of government) of 'Ādil Khān the second in.....

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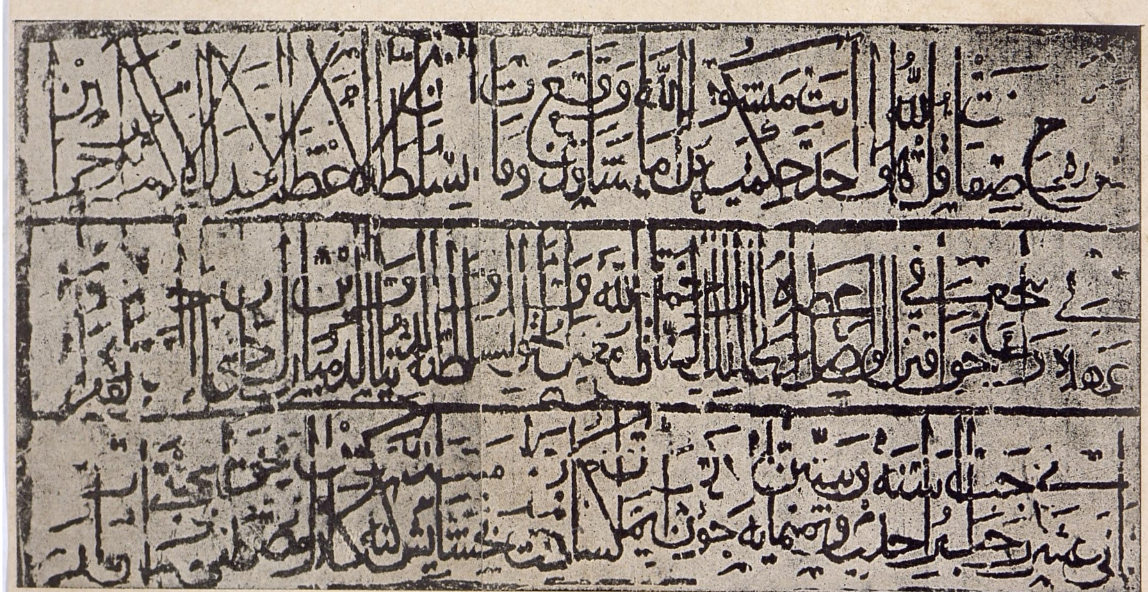
[1] *ARIE*, *op. cit.*, No. D, 143 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 329 ; Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 51, App. H, No. XXX.

[2] M. Nāẓim, *Bijapur Inscriptions*, Mem. Arch. Sur. India, No. 49, p. 25, pl. 1, No. 3256.

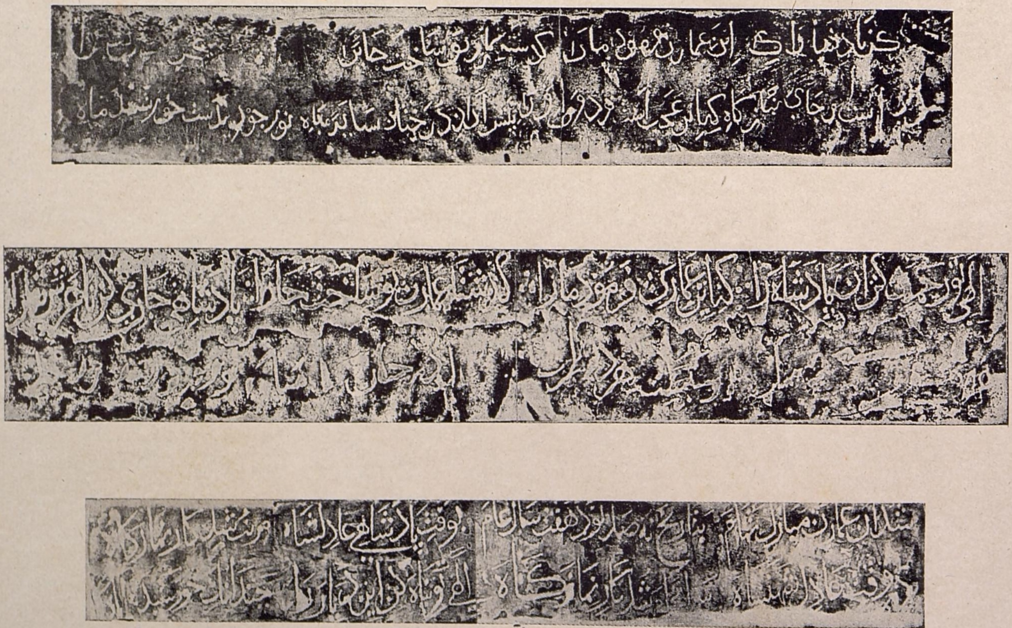
[3] Bashīru'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, reads ' ۲۰ رمضان البانى '.

(*a*) Epitaph of Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī, A.H. 861, from Thalner (p. 67)



SCALE : ·07

(*b*) Record of 'Ādil Shāh Fārūqī IV, dated A.H. 997, from Asirgarh (p. 70)



SCALE : ·27

SOME MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM KHANDESH

By S. A. Rahim

A few inscriptions of the Fārūqī kings of Khandesh were studied by me in the last issue of the journal.[1] In this article I propose to study ten more inscriptions from that region.

The earliest of these inscriptions is to be found on the octagonal tomb of Mubārak Khān (1441-1457 A.D.), the fourth king of the line, situated at Thalner in the Shirpur *tāluka* of Dhulia district in Maharashtra. The huge inscriptional tablet measuring 2.72 by 1.22 m. is fixed over the entrance gate of the tomb facing south[2] and contains three lines of writing in Persian verse and Arabic prose executed in *Thulth* characters of a fairly high order. The inscription has been twice noticed,[3] but the reading given is not only 'hopelessly misprinted',[4] but full of errors. The record forms the epitaph of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī who is stated therein to have died in A.H. 861 (1457 A.D.). The main text which begins as well as ends with a Persian couplet is in faultless Arabic. The epigraph is somewhat damaged. It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) سوره [جام]ع صفات قل هو الله احد   آیت منشور حکمت یفعل الله مایشاء

قد وقع وفات السلطان الاعظم الاعدل الاکرم اشرف ؟ خوانین

(۲) فی عهده و اشجع خواقین فی عصره الواصل الی رحمة الله الملک المنان معین الحق

و السلطنة و الدنیا و الدین مبارک خان عادل ؟ ...... الغفران

(۳) فی ثانی عشر رجب المرجب سنه احدی و ستین و ثمنمایه

چون در ایمان کشادی راه بخشایش مبند   بر گنه‌گاران بحق مصطفی و مجتبی

TRANSLATION

(1) (Verse :) 'Say : He, Allāh, is One' is the chapter[5] containing an epitome of (His) attributes. The verse diffused with wisdom is 'Allāh does what He wills'.[6]

The death took place of the mighty, the just and the illustrious sulṭān, the noblest among the khāns

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*) for 1961, pp. 49-58.

[2] The border of the gate is also carved with Quranic verses.

[3] The reading given in J. Burgess, *Architectural and Archaeological Remains in Khandesh* (Bombay, 1877), p. 31, has been repeated in H. Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897), p. 57.

[4] J. Horovitz 'List of the Published Mohamedan Inscriptions of India', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1909-11, p. 129, No. 1225.

[5] *Qur'ān*, chapter CXII.

[6] *Ibid.*, chapter XIV, verse 27.

(2) of the time and the bravest among the khāqāns of the age, the one who attained the mercy of Allāh, the Beneficent Lord, namely Mu'īnu'l-Ḥaq wa's-Salṭanat wa'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Mubārak Khān 'Ādil, may he be forgiven,

(3) on the twelfth of the respected month of Rajab in the year (A.H.) eight hundred sixtyone (12th Rajab A.H. 861=5th June 1457 A.D.).

(Verse :) When Thou hast opened the door of Belief, closest not the path of pardon in the face of the sinners on behalf of the Chosen and Selected (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad) !

The above record is very important since it quotes the full titles of Mubārak Shāh which are not given in historical works. But still more valuable is its evidence which settles the date of his death : according to Firishta, Mubārak Shāh died on Friday, the 12th Rajab A.H. 861,[1] but Ḥājjī Dabīr places the event in the last ten days of Jumādā II of the same year.[2] The present record proves the correctness of the information of Firishta.

The next inscription, also an epitaph, is carved on the four sides of the sarcophagus of the grave of a celebrated Fārūqī nobleman, Amīr Yār 'Alī, situated to the east of the 'Ādil Shāhī tombs on the outskirts of Burhanpur. Amīr Yār 'Alī, al-Mughalī, as he is called by historians, and his brother Ḥusām 'Alī al-Mughalī were prominent nobles of the Fārūqī court and played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom towards the close of the fifteenth century. However, Firishta and others do not contain any mention of Yār 'Alī's career beyond giving his name.[3] Fortunately we are told by Ḥājjī Dabīr that on the death of 'Ādil Khān II in A.H. 909, Amīr Yār 'Alī leading a strong party of the nobles supported Ghaznīn Khān, son of Dā'ūd Khān, against the latter and proclaimed him the king. But after about a month Yār 'Ālī, with the help of two nobles of his group deposed Ghaznīn Khān in favour of his father Dā'ūd Khān contrary to the wishes of the remaining members of the party who left the capital and were given chase by Yār 'Alī. After dispersing them, Yār 'Alī camped for the night in the vicinity of *Bāgh-i-Ardhaula* near Maḥmūdpūr and in the course of the night when he was greatly intoxicated, was murdered by one of his slaves. However, Ḥājjī Dabīr who correctly places the event in Dhi'l-Qa'da A.H. 909[4] does not quote the day of the month. Our inscription supplies this omission and further corroborates the historian in the matter of Yār 'Alī's martyrdom. Further, it gives the full name and titles of the said Amīr.

The inscription is executed in beautiful *Thulth* characters and its text is in Arabic. The text, as has been stated above, is carved on the four sides of the grave of which, the north, the east and the south ones contain religious texts comprising the traditions of the Prophet and a verse in Arabic, while that on the west side forms the epitaph proper stating that Malik Amīr Shujā'u'd-Dīn Yār 'Alī was martyred on the 13th May 1504 A.D. The text of the epitaph, it will be seen, speaks very highly of Yār 'Alī.

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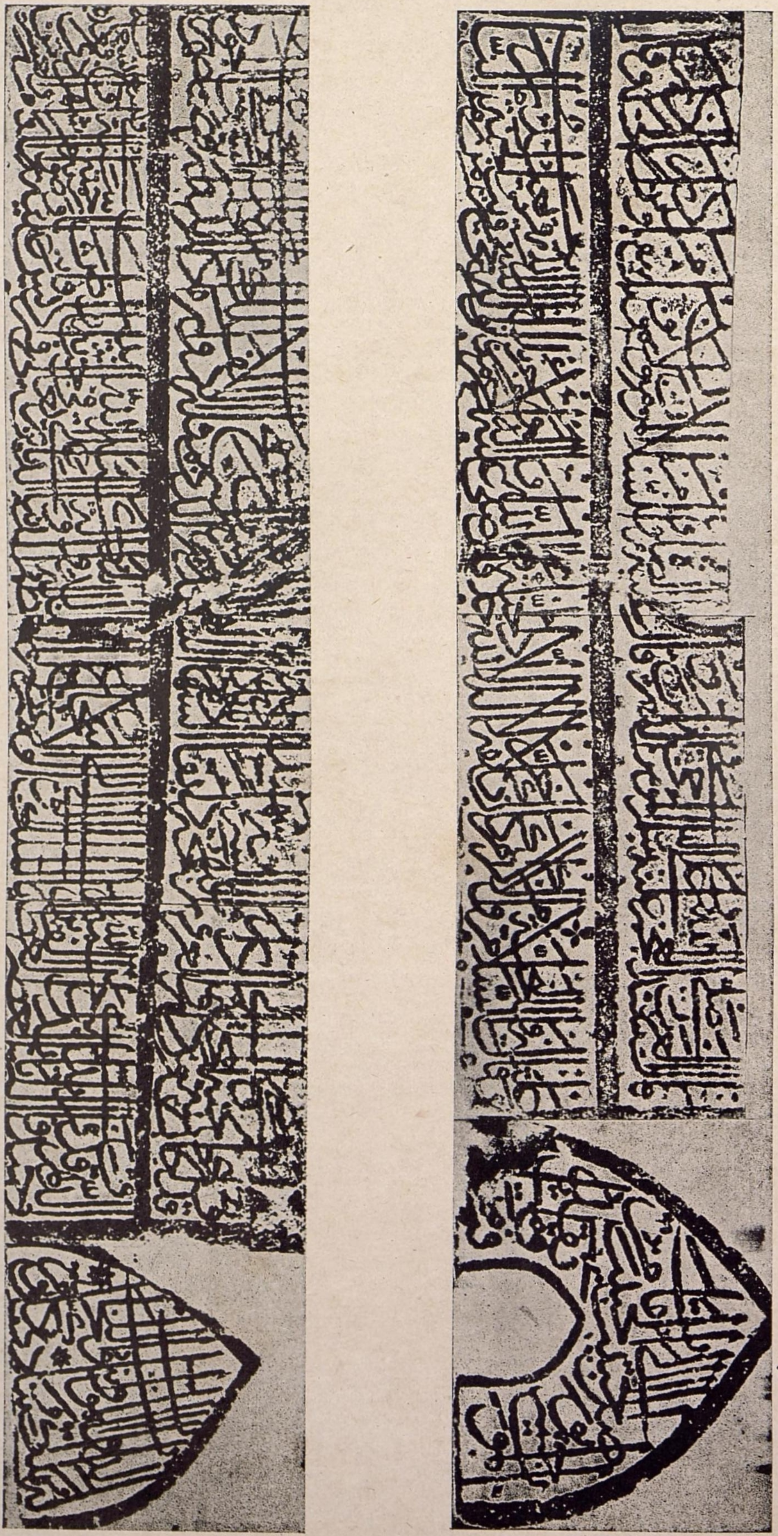
[1] Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. II (Lucknow, 1884), p. 281.

[2] Ḥājjī Dabīr, *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-Ālih*, vol. I (London, 1910), p. 53.

[3] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[4] Ḥājjī Dabīr, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55. It may be pointed out here that Ḥājjī Dabīr has described the events as taking place in the same year when 'Ādil Khān II died, i.e. in A.H. 909. Though the printed text of Ḥājjī Dabīr's history has A.H. 907, the mistake was corrected to A.H. 909 in the errata of the same work. But almost all the modern authorities right from T. W. Haig, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928) to A. K. Majumdar, author of the chapter on the Khandesh kings in *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), not caring to refer to the errata, have rendered Ḥājjī Dabīr's account as incorrect.



SCALE : ·14

Epitaph of Amīr Yār 'Alī, dated A.H. 909, from Burhanpur (p. 69)

The writing occupies a total space of 3.24 m. by 34 cm. on the sarcophagus. The epitaph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII

(*a*) *North side.*

الموت جسر يوصل الحبيب الى الحبيب من مات فقد قامت قيامته

(*b*) *East side.*

(١) قال سيد العرب و العجم صلے الله عليه و علے اله و سلم المومن حى فے الدارين و قال عليه الصلوة و السلام المومنون لايموتون بل ينتقلون من دار الى دار [1] و قال

(٢) و قال عليه السلام و التحية و الاكرام من كان آخر كلامه لا اله الا الله دخل الجنة و قال صلى الله عليه و اله و لاحرمنا من جزيل نواله السخى قريب من الله قريب من الجنة بعيد من النار

(*c*) *South side.*

له ملك ينادى كل يوم لدوا للموت و ابنوا للخراب

(*d*) *West side.*

(١) قد اجاب [2] وصى ربه و رضے بحبه من دار المحنة و الغرور الے دار البهجة و السرور شهيد ذايقا الشهادة نائلا درجة الشهيد الامير الكبير الكريم الذى قل بمثله تسبح الادوار ما دار الفلك الدوار من حاز كل قصباة السبق فے الجود فے مضمار الوجود

(٢) وحيد الدهر و فاقد البرايا فريد العصر فے بذل العطايا الفايز برحمة الله الملك الوالے الولے [الا]مير الاعظم المعظم شجاع الملة و الدولة و الدنيا [و] الدين يار على اسكنه الله تعالى فى فراديس جنانه و افاض عليه شابيب رحمته و رضوانه فے الثامن و العشرين من شهر ذى قعده سنه تسع و تسعمايه

TRANSLATION

(*a*) Death is a bridge linking a friend to a friend. One who dies, verily for him the Day of Judgment comes.

(*b*) (1) The chief of Arabia and 'Ajam (i.e. Persia), may the blessings and salutations of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, has said, 'A true believer is alive in both the worlds.' And (he), may peace and salutation be upon him, has said, 'The true believers do not die but they (only) move from one house (this world) to another (the next world).'

---

[1] This phrase seems to be redundant.

[2] The reading of the underlined phrases is tentative.

(2) And (he), may salutations, blessings and respects be upon him, has said, 'He whose last words (at the time of death) are 'There is no god except Allāh' enters Paradise.' And (he), may the blessings of Allāh be upon him and his descendants and may He not deprive us of his generous favours, has said 'A generous man is near Allāh and near Paradise but far from Hell.'

(*c*) (Verse :) He (i.e. Allāh) has an angel (whose duty is) to shout every day, 'Be born for death and build for destruction' (i.e., he who is born dies and anything that is built is ultimately destroyed).

(*d*) (1) Verily, he answered to (the call of) the executor? of his Lord and happily accepted (the call of death) (and passed away) from the house of trouble and deceit (i.e. this world) to the house of rest and pleasure (i.e. next world), namely, the martyr who tested martyrdom and obtained the status of a martyr, the noble and the generous Amīr, the like of whom is scarce during the revolutions of times as long as the revolving heavens revolve, one who took away all the reeds of perfection in the matter of generosity in the field of existence,

(2) the unique of the age, the phoenix among the human beings, the incomparable one in the age for bestowing gifts, one who has succeeded to receive the mercy of Allāh, the King, the Lord, the Friend, viz. the great and illustrious Amīr Shujā'u'l-Millat wa'd-Daulat wa'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, Yār 'Alī, may Allāh give him place in the gardens of His Paradise and pour upon him the heavy rains of His Mercy and Pleasure, on the twentyeighth of the month of Dhi'l-Qa'da, the year (A.H.) nine hundred and nine (28th Dhi'l-Qa'da A.H. 909=18th January 1504 A.D.).

The third inscription of the group is from the 'Īdgāh at Asirgarh in the West Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh and belongs to the reign of 'Ādil Shāh IV (1576-96 A.D.), the last but one Fārūqī ruler. It is executed in plaster over the three arched recesses immediately to the left of the pulpit in the west wall and measures 1.62 m. by 23 cm. The raised letters of the inscription have been filled up with successive coats of white-wash rendering it difficult to decipher the record in full and prepare a good inked rubbing thereof. It will be seen from the transcript that the writing above the two arches on the right is identical while the text on the third, namely, the one close to the pulpit, records the renovation of the *namāzgāh* (i.e. '*Īdgāh*) in A.H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.) in the reign of 'Ādil Shāh IV. It will be recalled that the same king had ordered the construction of the Jāmi' mosque of Asirgarh as well as of Burhanpur in this very year.

The language of the inscription is Persian verse and the style of writing *Naskh*. The composition of the record is not only mediocre but faulty. Consequently, it has been difficult not only to prepare a satisfactory reading but also to give its readable translation. The calligraphy is also equally bad.

TEXT

Plate XXI(b)

(*a*) *On the arch, third from the pulpit.*

(۱) [الهی تو ر]حمت کن پادشا را   که این عمارت فرمود ما را

گذشته عمارت نو ساخت جایرا   [پادشاهی جاری] کن تا عرش ثنایرا

(۲) [منو]ر است و جای نمازگاه   که این عجب است هر دو طرف راه

پیش از ان در چنان سایه پناه   نود چو دمیدست خورشید ماه

(*b*) *On the middle arch.*

(۱) الهی تو رحمت کن آن پادشاه را　　　که　این　عمارت　فرمود　ما را

گذشته　عمارت　نوساخت　جا را　　　پادشاهی جاری کن تاعرش و ثنا را

(۲) هر انکس چو [آید بو]قت نماز　　　از ینست　مر　هر　دو　طرف　[راه‌باز]

.... در چنان .... پناه　　　نور　چو　د[میدست　خورش]ید ماه

(c) *On the arch, first from the pulpit.*

(۱) شد آن عمارت مبارک تمام　　　بتاریخ نه صد نود هفت سال عام

بوقت　پادشاهے　عادلشاه　　　مرتب　شد　کار　نمازگاه

(۲) در　وقت　عادل　شهنشاه　　　سر　انجام　شد　کار　نمازگاه

الهے تو پناه کن این دیار را　　　چندانکه خورشید　مه　آباد　را

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) Oh God ! Bestow your mercy upon the king who constructed this building for us. He made the old building a new one ; (so) keep his kingship as long as the empyrean. . . . .

(2) This place is enlightened and is a *namāzgāh*. And it is wonderful in that it is approached from two sides.

Before this, under such a shadow, light has shone forth from sun and moon.[1]

(*b*) Same as in (*a*) above.

(*c*) (1) This auspicious edifice has been completed in the year (A.H.) nine hundred ninety-seven (A.H. 997=1588-89 A.D.) ;

in the reign of ʻĀdil Shāh the king, the work of the *namāzgāh* has been carried out.

(2) In the time of the just emperor, the place of worship has been completed.

Oh Lord ! Protect this city till the sun and the moon endure.

The fourth inscription of this study is one of the two inscriptions of Akbar to be found at Burhanpur. It is engraved on the base of the southern minaret of the Jāmiʻ mosque built by ʻĀdil Shāh IV in A. H. 997 (1588-89 A.D.). The inscription has greatly suffered due to weathering of the stone and the letters have in most cases peeled off. It forms one of the many records engraved in different parts of the country by the celebrated nobleman, literateur and calligrapher of Akbar's court, Mīr Muḥammad Maʻṣūm, with the poetical name Nāmī, of Bhakkar. Composed in prose and verse, also by him, the inscription states that the Ilāhī year of Akbar was reckoned from the date of that emperor's accession. It also records that Akbar had reached Burhanpur on the 11th Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year 45 corresponding to the 25th ? Ramaḍān A. H. 1009 (10th March, 1601 A.D.). It also refers to the homage paid to Akbar by Bahādur Khān, the last Fārūqī king. The epigraph further states that the emperor left for Lahore on the 12th Urdibihisht of the

[1] It is not possible to correctly translate this faulty verse.

Ilāhī year 46 corresponding to Shawwāl A. H. 1009 (20th April 1601 A.D.). It also gives the genealogical details regarding Nāmī himself.[1]

There is some confusion in the dates quoted in the epigraph. The Ilāhī year 45 and A.H. 1009 are perfectly distinct in this greatly damaged record but Farwardīn of Ilāhī year 45 did not coincide with Ramaḍān of A.H. 1009 but of A. H. 1008. This may have been an inadvertent mistake. Also according to Abu'l-Faḍl, the new Ilāhī year 45 started on the 4th Ramaḍān A. H. 1008,[2] in which case 11th Farwardīn was 14th Ramaḍān A. H. 1008. However 11th Farwardīn of Ilāhī year 46 was 25th Ramaḍān A. H. 1009. What seems to have happened is that Nāmī made a faulty computation of the day and month of the previous year on the basis of the current year. In other words, he gave 25th Ramaḍān as the equivalent for 11th Farwardīn of Ilāhī 45, being perhaps caught unawares by the fact that in the Ilāhī year 46, 11th Farwardīn was 25th Ramaḍān. Also Abu'l-Faḍl gives the date of Akbar's entry to Burhanpur on the 21st Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year 45 which fell on the 24th Ramaḍān A. H. 1008.[3]

The record measuring 1.34 by 1.2 m. consists of nine lines of writing executed in *Nasta'līq* of pleasing type and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII (a)

(۱) [تار]یخ الهی عبارتست از زمان جلوس حضرت شاهنشاه ظل اله اکبر بادشاه : شاه اکبر که ز تائید جوان بخت

(۲) خویش قلعه اسیر کشاد گشت آباد اسیر از ان نامی سنهٔ بیش گفت اله آباد

(۳) بتاریخ ۱۱ فروردین ماه الهی سنه ۴۵ موافق [۲۵ ر]مضان سنه ۱۰۰۹ حضرت شاهنشاه فلکک بارگاه ظل اله برهان‌پور

(۴) مقر رایات ظفر آیات ساختند و بهادرخان آمده بپابوس مشرف شد و او را با اتباع جان بخشی کردند و قلعه اسیر فتح شد

(۵) شاه غازی جلال الدین اکبر آن بتائید بخت قلعه کشا

کرد فتح اسیر از ان نامی گفت بگرفت قلعهٔ اعلا

(۶) قائله و کاتبه محمد معصوم المتخلص به نامی بن سید صفائی الترمذی اصلاً و البکری مسکناً و مدفناً

(۷) و المنتسب اماً الی سید شیر قلندر ابن بابا حسن ابدال السبزواری مولداً و القندهاری موطناً و مرقداً

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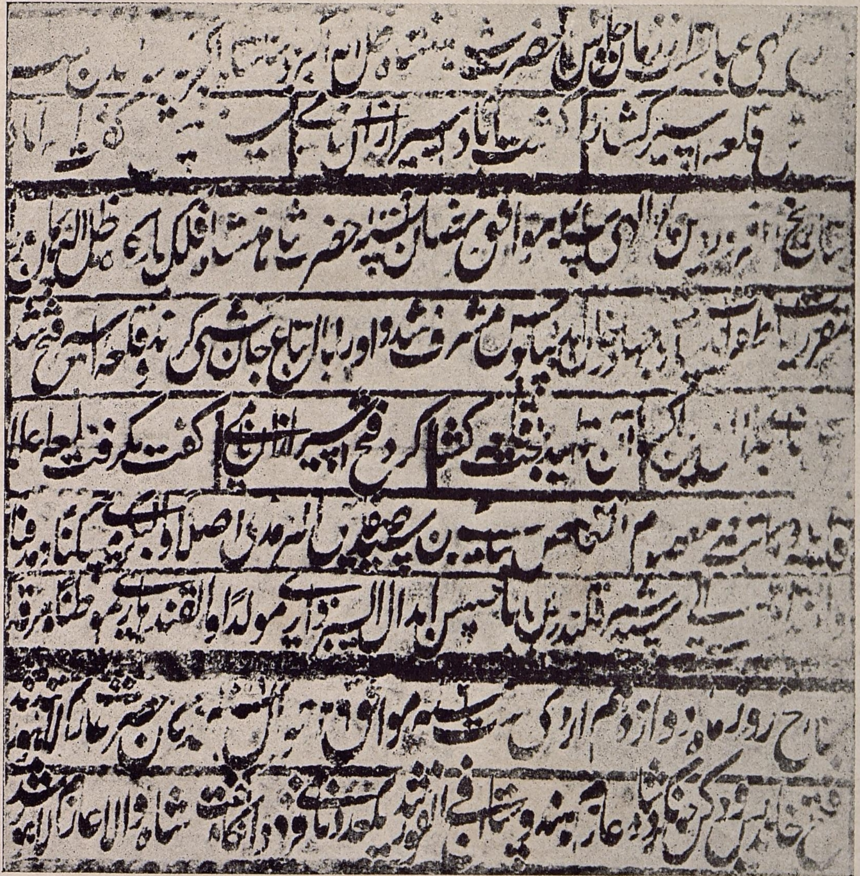
[1] A gist of this record with plate was published in M.A. Suboor, *Bulletins of the Nagpur Museum, No.* 1 (Allahabad, 1920), pp. 8-9, pl. III.

[2] Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar Nāma*, vol. III (Lucknow, 1882), p. 530.

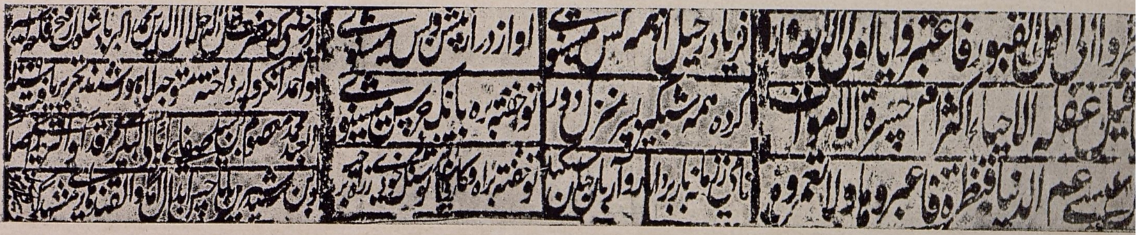
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 531.

(*a*) Akbar's inscription, dated A.H. 1009, from Burhanpur (p. 72)



SCALE : ·1

(*b*) Another record of Akbar, same place, same date (p. 74)



SCALE : ·08

(۸) بتاریخ روز ماه دوازدهم اردی بهشت سنه ۴۶ موافق ۲۶ شوال سنه ۱[۰۰]۹ بندگان
حضرت عازم لاهور شدند

(۹) فتح خاندیس و دکن چون کرد شاه عازم هندوستان فی الفور شد
یکعدد نامی فزود آن گاه گفت شاه والا عازم لاهور شد

TRANSLATION

(1) The Ilāhī era is meant to commence from the time of accession of His Majesty, the emperor, the shadow of God, Akbar Bād<u>sh</u>āh (Verse :) The king who through the support of his young luck

(2) conquered the fort of Asīr. Asīr has become prosperous ; hence Nāmī (for the year of the conquest of the fort) composed, with one more year (the chronogram in the words) : *populated by God.*

(3) On the 11th of the month Farwardīn of the Ilāhī year 46? corresponding to the 25th Ramaḍān (A.H.) 1009, His Majesty the emperor with the audience-hall of sky, the shadow of God, made Burhānpūr

(4) the camping ground of the victorious standards and Bahādur <u>Kh</u>ān having presented himself was granted the favour of paying obeisance (and) the emperor pardoned his as well as his dependants' lives. And the fort of Asīr was conquered.

(5) (Verse) : Jalālu'd-Dīn Akbar, the victorious king who with the favour of his luck is conqueror of forts, reduced the fort of Asīr. Therefore, Nāmī (for the chronogram of its date) said, '*He took the lofty fort.*'

(6) The composer and engraver (of this) is Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, whose pen-name is Nāmī, son of Sayyid Ṣafā'ī, a't-Tirmi<u>dh</u>ī by origin and al-Bakkarī by domicile and by death, and

(7) related on mother's side to Sayyid <u>Sh</u>īr Qalandar, son of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, a's-Sabzwārī by birth and al-Qandahārī by domicile and by death.

(8) On the 12th of the month Urdībihi<u>sh</u>t of the year 46 corresponding to the 26th <u>Sh</u>awwāl (A. H.) 1009, His Majesty set out for Lāhore.

(9) (Verse) : When the king conquered <u>Kh</u>ānde<u>sh</u> and Dakan, he at once started for Hindūstān (i.e. North India). Nāmī added one figure and then said (for the chronogram), '*The exalted king started for Lahōre.*'

The above inscription contains three chronograms : the phrase *populated by God* in the second line yields 44 to be added by 1 thus giving the Ilāhī year 45 in which the Asir fort was conquered ; the phrase *He took a lofty fort* in the fifth line gives 1009, the Hijra year of the conquest of the fort ; and the last hemistich in the last line yields A. H. 1008 to be added by 1, i.e. A. H. 1009, as the date of Akbar's departure towards Lahore. The exact days and months of the years are specified in the main text.

R. B. Hiralal states that according to this inscription, Akbar came to Burhanpur via Allahabad.[1] This is not corroborated by the inscription. The text does not use the word *Ilāhābād* in the sense of the famous city, but in its literal meaning. Likewise, Mr. Suboor in his summary

[1] R.B. Hiralal, *Descriptive Lists of Inscriptions in C.P. & Berar* (Nagpur, 1916), p. 71.

of this epigraph states that Akbar marched from Akbarābād to capture the fort of Āsir,[1] while it will be seen from the above text that Akbarābād is not mentioned at all.

The other inscription of Akbar and the fifth of this group is engraved on the western side of the plinth of the eastern of the two 'Ādil Shāhī tombs at Burhanpur. It is inscribed in four panels, three having three lines each and one having four. The language is Arabic prose and Persian verse. Apart from the well-known Arabic maxims, it contains a few verses in Persian composed by the engraver Nāmī and states that this record was inscribed in A.H. 1009 (1601 A.D.) at the time when Akbar after having conquered Asīr and Aḥmadnagar, started for Lāhore. It also gives the same genealogical details about himself as in the previous record.[2] The style of writing is *Nasta'līq* and the total space occupied by the text is 2.42 m. by 42 cm.

The record reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII(b)

(*a*) *First panel.*

(۱) انظروا الی اهل القبور فاعتبروا یا اولی الابصار

(۲) لما قیل غفلة الاحیاء اکثر ام حسرة الاموات

(۳) قال عیسے عم الدنیا قنطرة فاعبروها و لاتعمروها

(*b*) *Second and third panels.*

(۱) فریاد رحیل از همه کس میشنوے   آواز درا ز پیش و پس میشنوے

(۲) کرده همه شبگیر بسر منزل دور   تو خفته بره بانگ جرس میشنوے

(۳) نامی ز زمانه بار بردار   رو آر بآن جهان سبکبار

تو خفته براه و کاروان تیز   تو سنگ خودے زراه بر خیز

(*c*) *Fourth panel.*

(۱) در حینی که حضرت ظل اله جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه از فتح قلعه اسیر.

(۲) و [3]احمد انگر وا پرداخته متوجهٔ لاهور شدند تحریر یافت سنه ۱۰۰۹

(۳) العبد محمد معصوم بن سید صفائی اباً و البکری مرقداً و الترمذی اصلا

(۴) و بن سید شیر بن بابا حسن ابدال اماً و القندهاری مشهداً و السبزواری موطناً

---

[1] Suboor, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[2] It may be noted that Qandahar in this inscription is quoted as the place of *martyrdom*, while in the previous record it is only mentioned as a place of *death*.

[3] The spelling "احمد انگر" may be noted. For coins of Jahāngīr from Ahmadnagar mint bearing this spelling, see R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore* (Oxford, 1914), p. XXXVII.

TRANSLATION

(*a*) (1) Have a look at those who are in the graves (i.e. the dead) and take lesson, O possessors of sight!

(2) Because, it is said, 'Is the negligence of the living greater or the remorse of the dead'?

(3) Jesus, may peace be upon him, has said, 'The world is (like) a bridge; therefore, cross it and do not dwell in it.'

(*b*) (1) You are listening to the (sounds of) departure from everybody (and) to the sound of the caravan-bell from front and behind.

(2) All have undertaken nocturnal journeys and reached their far-off destinations, while you are sleeping on the way and listening to the sound of the caravan-bell.

(3) Nāmī! Pack up your goods from this world and turn your face to the other world, light of burden.

You are sleeping in the way while the caravan is going fast. You yourself are the stone (i.e. hurdle in the way), (therefore) get up from the way.

(*c*) (1) At the time when His Majesty, the shadow of God, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the king, having dispensed with the conquest of the fort of Asīr

(2) and Aḥmadānagar set out for Lāhore, (this record) was inscribed. Year (A.H.) 1009 (1601 A.D.).

(3) (Written by) the servant, Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, son on the paternal side of Sayyid Ṣafā'ī al-Bakkarī by the last resting place and a't-Tirmidhī by origin,

(4) and on mother's side son of Sayyid Shīr, son of Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl, al-Qandahārī by the last resting place (lit. place of martyrdom) and a's-Sabzwārī by origin.

The sixth epigraph, set up in the reign of Jahāngīr, is engraved over a slab measuring 95 by 50 cm. which is fixed over the main gate of the *Akbarī-Sarāi* at Burhanpur. The record comprises four lines of writing in Persian executed in *Nasta'līq* of a high order. It mentions the completion of the *sarāi* under royal orders in A.H. 1027 (1618 A.D.) during the governorship of the province of Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān, the commander-in-chief. The work was supervised by Lashkar Khān.

TEXT

Plate XXIV(b)

(۱) در عهد سلطنت ظل الله فی الارضین نور الدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازے

(۲) خلد الله ملکه و عدله و احسانه و صاحب صوبگی خان خانان سپه‌سالار

(۳) خلد شوکته حسب الامر جهانمطاع باهتمام بنده درگاه خلایق پناه لشکر خان

(۴) در سنه هزار و بیست و هفت این سرا باتمام رسید کتبه خلف التبریزے

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the shadow of Allāh in the worlds, Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom, justice and beneficence, and during the governorship of the province of Khān-i-Khānān, the *sipahsālār* (commander-in-chief),

(3) may his glory be perpetuated, and in compliance with the order obeyed by the world and under the supervision of Lashkar Khān, a servant of the people-sheltering court,

(4) this *sarā* was brought to completion in the year (A.H.) one thousand and twentyseven (A.H. 1027=1618 A.D.). Written by Khalaf a't-Tabrīzī.

Lashkar Khān under whose charge the construction of the *sarāi* was carried out is too well-known to need detailed mention here. He was the *dīwān* of Khandesh when Khān-i-Khānān was appointed the governor of the province in A.H. 1027, but since both were not on good terms, Jahāngīr replaced him by 'Ābid Khān.[1] His name was Abu'l-Ḥasan Mashhadī.[2] As regards the scribe, Khala. a't-Tabrīzī, no information is available in the annals of the period, but it may be recalled that he had also designed the epigraph of the *ḥammām* constructed at Burhanpur in A.H. 1024 by Khān-i-Khānān.[3]

The seventh record is found carved on a slab fixed into the compound-wall of the mosque called Masjid-i-Kabīr in the village Shendurni in Jamner *tāluka* in Jalgaon district of Maharashtra. The inscriptional tablet measureing 62 by 28 cm. is fragmentary and the writing is also badly damaged. The mosque is stated in the epigraph to have been originally built by Bahādur Khān Fārūqī, son of Rāja 'Alī Khān, governor of Khandesh on behalf of Akbar. Bahādur Khān was the last Fārūqī ruler of Khandesh ; he ascended the throne in 1597 A.D. but was dethroned by Akbar in 1601 A.D. when Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal empire. The record also contains a reference to the tomb of Kabīr Khān Ghāzī, son of Sayyid Mīr Aḥmad Kabīr being situated in the compound of the mosque. The epigraph bears the date 1660 A.D. but it is difficult to say if it is the date of the renovation of the mosque or of the construction of the tomb or of the death of the said Kabīr Khān.

The inscription consists of three lines of Persian and is written in *Nasta'līq* characters. Though the letters are badly damaged, the calligraphy appears to be of a very high order. It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV(c)

(١) ...... مسجد بهادر خان فاروقی بن راجه علی خان که منجانب شهنشاه

(٢) اکبر حاکم صوبه برهانپور خاندیس بود تعمیر کرده است در احاطه

(٣) دیوارش ؟ مقبره کبیر خان غازی بن سید میر احمد کبیر رحمت الله عیه بیست ماه

ربیع آخر در سنه ١٠٧١

TRANSLATION

(1-2) This mosque had been constructed by Bahādur Khān Fārūqī, son of Rāja 'Alī Khān, who was on behalf of emperor Akbar the governor of the *ṣūba* Burhānpūr-Khāndes. In the compound.

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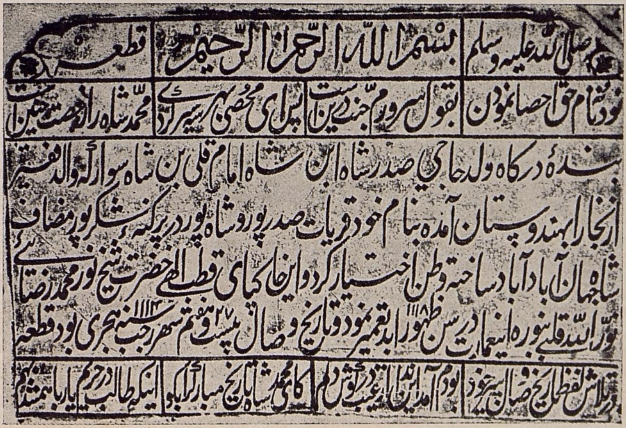
[1] Sayyid Aḥmad, ed. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Allygurh, 1864), p. 257.

[2] For details of his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 163-68.

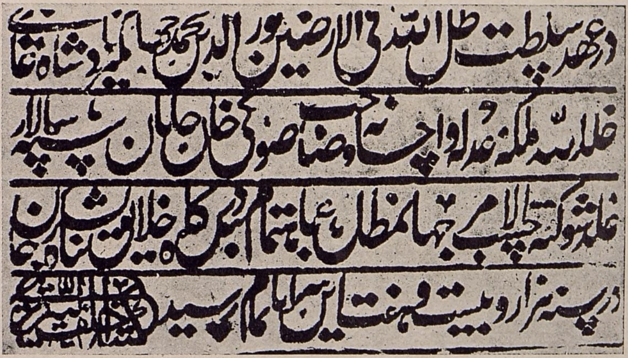
[3] *EIAPS* for 1955 and 56, p. 116 (pl. XXXa). For an inscription at Paithan, District Ahmadnagar, also designed by him, see *EIM*, 1949-50, p. 13 (pl. VIIb), where, however, his name is wrongly read as Khalafu'n-Nadhīr.

(*a*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1114, from Burhanpur (p. 78)



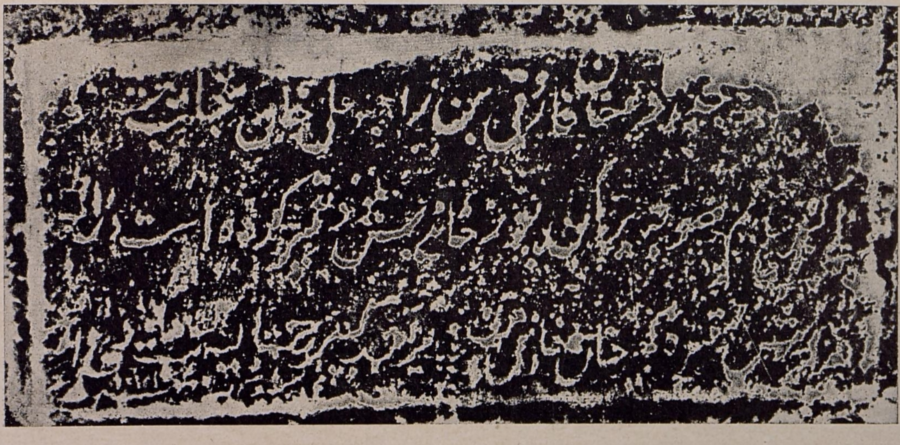
Scale : ·08

(*b*) Record of Jahāngīr, dated A.H. 1027, same place (p. 75)



Scale : ·1

(*c*) Inscription, dated A.H. 1071, from Shendurni (p. 76)



Scale : ·22

(3) of its wall ? (is) the tomb of Kabīr Khān Ghāzī, son of Sayyid Mīr Aḥmad Kabīr, may mercy of God be upon him. 20th of Rabī' II, year (A.H.) 1071 (13th December 1660 A.D.).

The eighth inscription appears on the headstone of a grave in the compound of a mosque in Maḥalla Ni'matpūra of Burhanpur and seems to record the date of death of one Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Abu'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'ī. Nothing could be traced about the deceased or his father from the records at our disposal.

The language is Arabic and the style of writing *Thulth*, while the tablet measures 30 by 30 cm.

Its text runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXV(a)

(۱) میرزا محمد ابراهیم ابن میرزا

(۲) ابو الفتح الحسنی الحسینی الانجوئے

(۳) فے خامس شهر رمضان المبارک سنه ۱۱۱۱

TRANSLATION

(1) (Death occurred of) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā

(2) Abu'l-Fatḥ al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'ī

(3) on the fifth of the auspicious month of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) 1111 (14th February 1700 A.D.).

The ninth inscription of this study is fixed over the gate of the eastern wall of Ṣufī Nūr Shāh's tomb in the Maḥalla Ṣiḥat-Kuwān at Burhanpur. Its text is composed by Muḥammad Shāh, son of Ḥājī Ṣadr Shāh and a disciple of Shaikh Nūr Muḥammad Riḍā'ī—Ṣūfī Nūr Shāh in popular parlance—and furnishes some interesting information. The text contains two chronograms, yielding A.H. 1114 (1702 A.D.) and A.H. 1118 (1706-07 A.D.) for the date of the demise of the saint and the construction of the tomb by the same Muḥammad Shāh respectively. It also supplies some valuable information about Ḥājī Ṣadr Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh's father, who was, as we shall soon see, an official. We are told that the Ḥājī was the son of Imām Qulī, son of Shāh Sawār and that he came to India from Bukhārā and populated after his own name two villages, named Ṣadrpūr and Shāhpūr in the *pargana* Shakarpūr in the vicinity (*muḍāf*) of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) and settled there.

Ḥājī Ṣadr Shāh had also constructed a mosque at Jajmau in Kanpur district of Uttar Pradesh at the instance of Qilich Khān, the *ṣadru's-ṣudūr* and the grandfather of Āṣaf Jāh I, in A.H. 1093 (1682 A.D.).[1] As Qilich Khān whose original name was 'Ābid Khān had spent some years at Bukhārā, first as Qāḍī and later as Shaikhu'l-Islām,[2] it is a reasonable guess that the Ḥājī had accompanied him to India and was attached to him. After Qilich Khān's demise, he seems to have been enrolled in the service of the former's son, Nawwāb Ghāzīu'd-Dīn Bahādur Fīrūz Jang. For, he was in A.H. 1113 the deputy, at Bid in Maharashtra, of Fīrūz Jang when the latter held charge of the province of Deccan—from Bijapur to Aurangabad.[3] He seems to have been

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[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1961-62, No. D, 317.

[2] For 'Ābid Khān's career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1891), pp. 120-23.

[3] *EIM*, 1921-22, p. 16.

mainly responsible for the foundation of the suburb G͟hāzīu'd-Dīn-Nagar, a bastion, a mosque in the tomb of S͟hāhins͟hāh Walī, all at Bid, etc., between the years A.H. 1113 and A.H. 1118, as indicated by several inscriptions at that place.[1] At least one of these, dated A.H. 1118, was composed in verse by the Ḥājī's son Muḥammad S͟hāh of our inscription.

The text of the inscription runs into seven lines of Persian prose and verse. The style of writing is *Nastaʻlīq* of a fairly good type, while the tablet measures 1.20 m. by 74 cm.

The epigraph has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV(a)

(١) صلی الله علیه و سلم   بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم   قطعه

(٢) نود نه نام حق احصا نمودن   بقول سرورم جنت درین است

پس‌ای محصی بهر سه سیر کردی   محمد شاه را رخصت چنین است

(٣) بندهٔ درگاه ولد حاجی صدر شاه ابن شاه امام قلی بن شاه سوار که والد فقیر

(۴) از بخارا بهندوستان آمده بنام خود قریات صدرپور و شاه‌پور در پرگنهٔ شکرپور مضاف

(۵) شاه‌جهان‌آباد آباد ساخته وطن اختیار کرد و این خاکپای قطب الهی حضرت شیخ

نور محمد رضائیے

(٦) نور الله قلبے بنوره اینعمارت در سن ظهورابد ١١١٨ تعمیر نمود و تاریخ وصال

٢٧ بیست و هفتم شهر رجب سنه ١١١۴ هجری بود قطعه

(٧) در تلاش لفظ تاریخ وصال پیر خود   بودم آمد این ندا از غیب درگوش دلم

کای محمد شاه تاریخ مبارکرا بگو   اینکه طالب در حریم یار باهمشد بهم

TRANSLATION

(1) Peace of Allāh be upon him (i.e. on the Prophet Muḥammad). In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Fragment :

(2) To count ninetynine names of God—Paradise lies in it, according to the saying of my chief (Prophet Muḥammad).

Therefore, oh counter, since you have gone through all the three, such is the permission granted to Muḥammad S͟hāh.[2]

(3) The servant of the court, son of Ḥājī Ṣadr S͟hāh, son of S͟hāh Imām Qulī, son of S͟hāh Sawār, father of this poor fellow (i.e. the builder Muḥammad S͟hāh),

(4) having come from Buk͟hārā to India, populated two villages, Ṣadrpūr and S͟hāhpūr (called) after his name, in the S͟hakarpūr *pargana* in the vicinity of

(5) S͟hāhjahānābād (Delhi) and settled there. And this dust of the feet of the pole-star of God, Ḥaḍrat S͟haik͟h Nūr Muḥammad Riḍā'ī,

(6) may God enlighten my heart by his light, constructed this building in the year of *eternal existence*,[3] A.H. 1118 (1706-07 A.D.). And the date of (the saint's) death is the 27th of the month of Rajab A.H. 1114 (6th December 1702 A.D.). Fragment :

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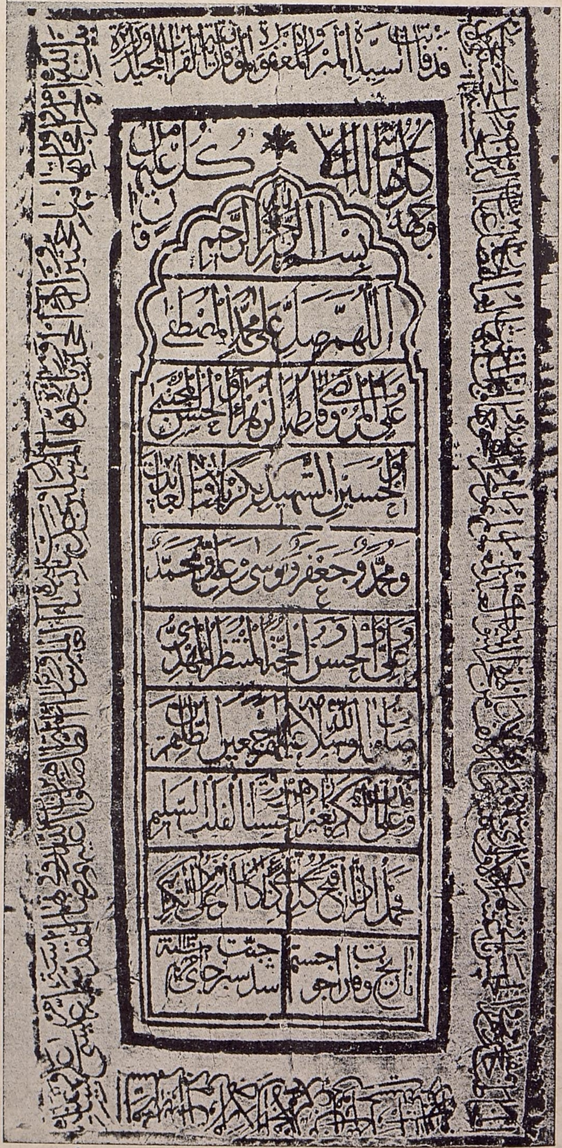
[1] *EIM*, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21, 23-24.

[2] The meaning of this verse is not quite clear.

[3] This phrase forms the chronogram.

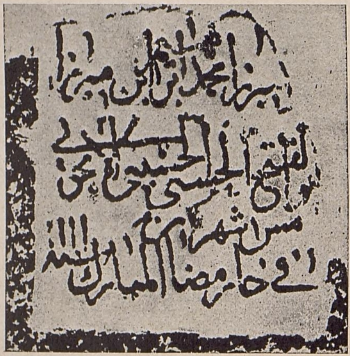
Plate XXV

(*b*) Epitaph of Ḥāfiẓa Maryam, dated A.H. 1130, same place (p. 79)



Scale : ·09

(*a*) Epitaph of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, dated A.H. 1111, from Burhanpur (p. 77)



Scale : ·17

(7) I was seeking the words (i.e. the chronogram) for the date of the death of my spiritual guide, when a voice from the Unseen came to the ear of my heart,

(saying), 'O Muḥammad Shāh ! proclaim this auspicious date, namely that the *seeker has got together with the Friend in the latter's sanctuary*.'

The tenth and the last inscription of this study is also from Burhanpur. Near the city-wall on the south there is a grave which according to the inscription thereon marks the resting place of Ḥāfīẓa Maryam. The marble tablet is of considerable dimensions measuring 1.7 m. by 92 cm. and contains an epitaph in Arabic with the exception of one verse in Persian, recording the death of Maryam, daughter of Muḥammad, son of 'Alī-Mūsā al-Ḥusainī al-Māzandarānī, entitled Muftakhar Khān. It is interesting to note that according to the epigraph, Maryam was a *qāriyya* (i.e. well-versed in the science of recitation of the *Qur'ān*) and had performed pilgrimage to the cities of Mecca and Madina, having stayed there for two years, in the course of which she had visited the shrines of the holy Prophet and his daughter from whom she claimed descent. The text of the inscription was composed and written by her husband who was the son of her cousin on father's side, namely, Abu'l-Faḍl Khān, son of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, son of Manṣūr al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'ī.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good type, and the text may be read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXV(b)

(*a*) *Top corners.*

كل شئى هالكٌ الا وجهه　　　　كل من عليها فان

(*b*) *Within the arch.*

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(٢) اللهم صل علے محمد المصطفے

(٣) و علے المر تضے و فاطمة الزهراء و الحسن المجتبے

(٤) و الحسين الشهيد بكربلا و زين العابدين

(٥) و محمد و جعفر و موسى و على و محمد

(٦) و على و الحسن و الحجة المنتظر المهدى

(٧) صلوة الله و سلام عليهم اجمعين الطاهرين

(٨) وفدت علے الكريم بغير زاد　　من الحسنات و القلب السليم

(٩) فحمل الزاد اقبح كل شى　　اذا كان الوفود علے الكريم

(١٠) تاريخ وفات را چو جستم　　شد جنت سبز جاى مريم سنه ١١٣٠

(*c*) *Around the border.*

قد فاتت السيدة المبرورة المغفورة الموفقة قارئة القرآن المجيد وزائرة بيت الله الحرام و مجاورتها فيها حجتين و اداء الحجين و زيارة جدها سيد المرسلين و جدتها سيدة نساء العالمين و سائر ايمة الطاهرين صلوة الله عليهم فى روضاتهم المقدسة سمية ام عيسى عليه و علے نبينا السلام مريم بنت المرحوم الاجل الامجد محمد بن على موسى الحسينى المازندرانى المخاطب بمفتخر خان

فی یوم الخمیس ثانی عشر شهر جمیدی الاولی سنه ثلثین و مایة بعد الالف من الهجرة النبویة

کتبه العبد المغموم المهموم المحزون المهجور زوجها و ابن ابن اخت ابیها ابو الفضل خان بن

غیاث الدین بن منصور الحسنی الحسینی الانجوئی

TRANSLATION

(*a*) ' Everything is mortal except His Face.'[1] ' Everything which is on it (i.e. on the earth) will perish.'[2]

(*b*) (1) In the name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

(2-7) Shiite *durūd*.

(8) I went to the most beneficent (God) without any provisions of good deeds and good heart.

(9) For, when one happens to go to a generous person, carrying provisions is the worst of all things.

(10) When I sought the date of (her) death, (the chronogram was found in the phrase :) *The evergreen Paradise became the abode of Maryam.* Year (A.H.) 1130 (1718 A.D.).

(*c*) The death took place of the chief, the forgiven, the pardoned, the favoured, the *qāriyya* of the glorious *Qur'ān*, the visitor of the Holy House of Allāh where she stayed for two years (lit. two *ḥajjs*), performing two pilgrimages and visiting the tombs of her ancestor, the chief of the prophets (Prophet Muḥammad), of her ancestress, the chief of all the women of the world (Fāṭima), and of the remaining holy Imāms, may blessings of Allāh be upon them in their sacred tombs (lit. gardens), one who bears the name of the mother of Christ, may peace be upon him and on our Prophet (Muḥammad), that is to say Maryam, daughter of the late highly respected grandee, Muḥammad, son of 'Alī Mūsā al-Ḥusainī al-Māzandarānī entitled Muftakhar Khān, on Thursday, the 12th of the month of Jumādā I in the year eleven hundred and thirty from the Migration of the Prophet (12th Jumādā I A.H. 1130-2nd April, 1718 A.D.). This is written by her husband, who is also the son of the son of her father's sister, the humble creature, the depressed, the sad, the sorrowful, the separated, Abu'l-Faḍl Khān, son of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, son of Manṣūr al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Injū'ī.

Maryam of our inscription is evidently identical with Ḥāfiẓa Maryam, the tutoress of Princess Zaibu'n-Nīsā, daughter of Aurangzeb, according to Shāh Nawāz Khān.[3] But there seems to be some confusion in the account of the said author who makes her a wife of Mīrzā Shukrullāh while in the present record, the name of her husband is given as Abu'l-Faḍl Khān. Likewise, it is not possible to establish satisfactorily the identity of Maryam's father Muftakhar Khān with the original name Muḥammad, son of 'Alī Mūsā al-Māzandarānī. The only Muftakhar Khān who is mentioned by historians is Mīr Khalīl, son of A'ẓam Khān Jahāngīr Shāhī, who later received the title of Khān-i-Zamān. He was associated with Burhanpur in the capacity of governor at least twice and is said to have had constructed his residence in that city.[4] It is possible that these chroniclers or the copyists may have made some mistake about the true name of the said Muftakhar Khān, if he is identical with the Muftakhar Khān of our inscription. In any case, the inscription has preserved the names of two titled grandees of the time of Aurangzeb.

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter XXVIII, part of verse 88.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter LV, verse 26.

[3] Shāh Nawāz Khān, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 828.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), pp. 785-792.

SANSKRIT PORTION OF THE BIDAR INSCRIPTION IN THE HYDERABAD MUSEUM

By B. Datta and C. L. Suri

[In the 1959 and 60 issue of this journal, Mr. R. M. Joshi had studied the Sanskrit version of the Bidar step-well inscription, now in the State Museum, Hyderabad.[1] On being told that the study of Mr. Joshi suffered from some inaccuracies, I requested Dr. D. C. Sircar, then Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, to see if the said study could be improved upon. The present article written by two epigraphical assistants of that office is published here with due acknowledgement.—Ed.]

In April 1961, three impressions of a bilingual inscription, found at Bīdar and now preserved in the Hyderabad Museum,[2] were sent to the Government Epigraphist for India by the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Nagpur. The Sanskrit portion of the record is here published with the kind permission of Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, who has also helped us in the preparation of this paper.

The inscription is engraved on a stone slab measuring about 47 by 72 cm. The Sanskrit portion covers an area about 47 by 45 cm. and contains 21 lines of writing which is not carefully engraved. The preservation of the writing is also not quite satisfactory. The record is in verse[3] except the word *śrīḥ* at the beginning and at the end, and the words *idaṁ cha* in line 19 just before the date. It is written in *Nāgarī* characters of the 15th century. The change of final *m* and the class nasal to *anusvāra* may be noted as an orthographical peculiarity of the epigraph.

The inscription is dated both in a chronogram[4] (*tarka-ras-ānala-chaṁdra*) and in figures as the Śaka year 1366, Raktākshi, Aśvayuja śu. 10, Monday, Śravaṇa-[nakshatra] and Dhruva-yōga, regularly corresponding to the 21st September 1444 A.D. The Persian portion of the record, however, bears the date equivalent to 28th September 1444 A.D.[5]

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a step-well by Sahanājhā (Persian, Shahnāz), queen of the Bahmanī king Aḥmad Shāh I and mother of Maḥmūd Khān, during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II (1436-58) who was the son and successor of Aḥmad Shāh I.

The record begins with the word *śrīḥ* which is followed by a verse in adoration to the god Aja (unborn), i.e. Brahman (verse 1). Then it introduces the Bahmanī king Aḥmad I (verse 2). His capital, the city Bīdar, is next compared with the cities of Mahēndra and Kubēra (verse 3). A hill called Nānaka is mentioned in relation to the said city (verse 4). Originally, the capital of the Bahmanī kings was at Gulbarga and Aḥmad Shāh I changed the capital from Gulbarga to Bīdar.[6]

[1] R. M. Joshi, 'Sanskrit Version of the Bilingual Inscription from the State Museum, Hyderabad', *Epigraphia Indica—Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1959 and 60, pp. 38-40 (pl. VIIIa).

[2] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. D, 7.

[3] Joshi, *op. cit.*, seems to have mistaken the text to be in prose because neither there are punctuation marks intended to show the verse-end in his transcript nor the names of the metres are mentioned in his article. Moreover his remark that 'the writer of the text appears to have had a good knowledge of Sanskrit language and alliterated prose style which is the special feature of Sanskrit masters like Daṇḍin and Bāṇabhaṭṭa' leaves no doubt that he has really mistaken the record to be written in prose.

[4] Joshi, *op. cit.*, has not read the chronogram here.

[5] *EIAPS*, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[6] H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanīs of Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 180-84 and p. 215, n.8.

Verse 5 describes the army of the Bahmanī king and refers to the commanders in charge of his forts and to his Malīkas, Khānas and innumerable castles. Next it is stated that the king's commander imprisoned the living ruler of Rājamahēndra-durga and that his minister made Dēvarāja to pay tribute to him (verse 6).

The contemporary ruler of Rājamahēndra-durga (modern Rajahmundry in Andhra Pradesh) was the Reḍḍi king Vīrabhadra (1423-44 A.D.), a subordinate of Dēvarāya II of Vijayanagara.[1] Aḥmad Shāh I is known to have attacked the Vijayanagara king Bukka III in 1423 A.D. Dēvarāya II who succeeded the latter in 1424 A.D.[2] is referred to in our record as paying tribute to Aḥmad Shāh.

The Bahmanī king had a queen named Bībī Sahanājhā (Shahnāz) (verses 7-9), whose son named Maḥmūd Khān was ruling a city, the name of which is doubtful (verse 10).[3] The said queen caused the construction of a step-well in the reign of the king Allābadī ('Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II) son of Sulṭān Aḥmad (verses 11-12).[4] The following stanza (verse 13) refers to the garden around the step-well and also to its good waters. Verse 14 quotes the date already discussed above. The last line being rubbed off is not fully decipherable ; but it seems to record the wish that the well, caused to be constructed by Sahanājhā (Shahnāz), may last as long as the sun and the moon endure (verse 15).

TEXT[5]

Plate XXVI

[Metres : verses 1, 3-4, 7, 11-13 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Upajāti* ; verses 5-6, 8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 9 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 10, 15 *Upagīti* ; verse 14 *Āryā*.]

1 Śrīḥ || Ajāya jagad-utpatti-sthiti-saṁhāra-kāriṇē | triguṇā[ya] guṇ-ātīta-mūrtayē Brahmaṇē na-

2 maḥ || [1*] Tad=ājñay=ājāyata bhūtalē=smin bhūri-pratāp-ā[na]la-tāpi[t-ā]riḥ | Ahaṁmadō dripta-narēṁdra-pakshi-śyē-

3 nō mahān Bahmani-pātiśāhaḥ || [2*] Mahēṁdrasya Kubērsaya nagarī na garīyasī | apēkshā Bēdaraṁ yasya na-

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[1] M. S. Sarma, *History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms* (Waltair, 1948), pp. 190-93 ; *Epigraphia Indica* (*EI*), vol. XXXIII, p. 2.

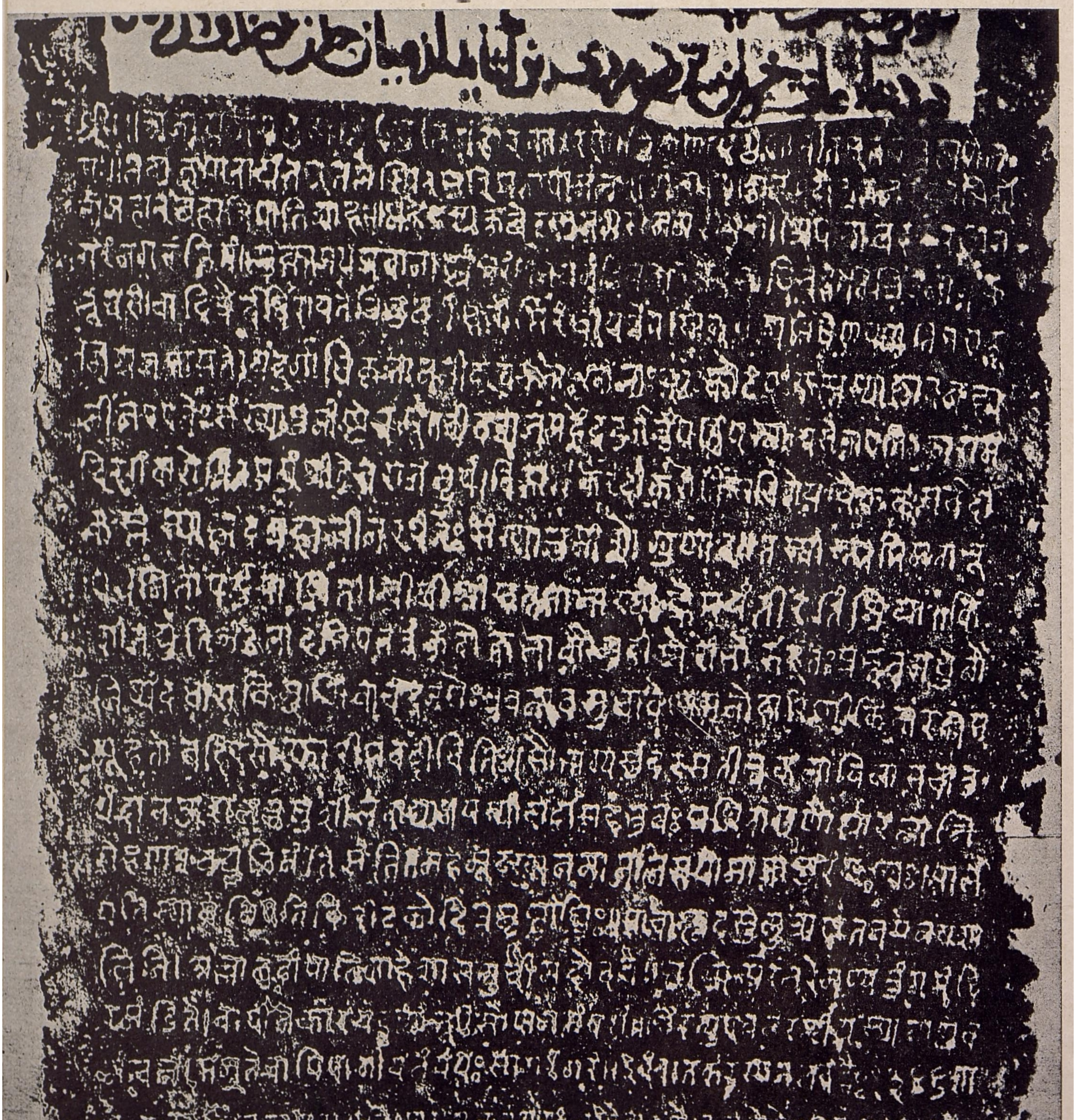
[2] *EI*, *op. cit.*

[3] Joshi has confused Maḥmūd Khān with Muhammad Khān who was joined by Devarāya II of Vijayanagara in a conspiracy resulting in an unsuccessful revolt against his brother, the ruling king 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II. The latter pardoned him and gave the *jāgīr* of Rājāchal to him. The Persian portion states that Maḥmūd probably held Māhūr (reading of which in the Sanskrit portion is doubtful) and not Rājāchal. This clearly shows that Aḥmad Shāh I had three sons, namely 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II, the immediate successor, Maḥmūd Khān, son born to him by Bībī Shahnāz referred to in this epigraph and Dāwūd Khān.

[4] This is the only mention of the name of the ruling king in our inscription. Joshi reads the name as *Allabandi* and seems to translate it as 'the servant of God'. It is, therefore, surprising how he ascribes the present record to the regin of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II. Perhaps the name Ahaṁmada in line 2 was taken by him to refer to 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II.

[5] From impressions. There are a number of gaps, irregularities and mistakes in Shri Joshi's transcript, all of which have not been pointed out here.

Sanskrit version of the Bidar inscription, Hyderabad Museum (p. 82)



SCALE : ·4

4 garaṁ naga-raṁ[jitaṁ(tam)] || [3*] Muktāmayaṁ pravāl-ā[ḍhyaṁ] puraṁ śra(śrī)-bhavanaṁ hi yat | uchchair=aṁbhōdhi-vad=bhā[ti] chitraṁ Nānaka-

5 bhūdharaṁ(ram) || [4*] Vāditrair=badhirāyatē tribhuvanaṁ [dhūlī]bhir=aṁdhāyatē yasmin rāṁjya (rājñy=a) bhishēṇayaty=ati-bharād=bhū-

6 miś=cha na[mrā]yatē yad-durg-ādhikṛitā malīka⏑chanāḥ khānāḥ puraḥ kōṭayaḥ kas=tasy=Āhmada-Bahma-

7 nī-narapatēḥ Saṁkhyātum=īshṭē chamūṁ(mūm) || [5*] [Jīva]d-Rājamahēṁdra-durga-nṛipa[tiṁ] yasy=[āgra]-sēnāpatiḥ kārāmaṁ-

8 dira-gaṁ [karōti] ⏑ ⏑— śrī-Dēvarājaṁ nṛipaṁ(pam) | vikrāṁtaṁ karadīkarōti sachivō yaś=ch=aikakaḥ sarvadā

9 kas=tasy=Āhmada-Bahmanī-narapatēḥ saṁkhyātum=īśō guṇān || [6*] Tasy=āsty=abhimatā bhū-

10 pa-vanitā paryupāsitā | Bībī śrī-Sahanājh-ākhyā hrēpayaṁtī[1] ratiṁ śṛiyā | [7*] Kiṁ

11 śītadyuti-maṁḍalād=abhipatat kuṁd-ōjva(jjva)lā kaumudī smēr-āṁbhōruhataḥ prabhūta-madhunō

12 nishyaṁda-dhārā kimu | kiṁ vā chaṁdramaṇēḥ sravan=nava-sudhā-vē[lā] manōhāriṇī kiṁ vā ratna-sa-

13 mūhatō bahir=asau sphārībhavad-dīdhitiḥ | [8*] Saubhāgya-suṁdara-satītva-kalā-vilāsa- chātu-

14 rya-drā(dā)na-kuśalatva-suśīlat-ā[dyāḥ] | yasyāṁ sadā saha-bhuvaḥ prathitā guṇ-aughā ratnāni

15 Rōhaṇa-pṛithu-dyutimaṁti saṁti | [9*] Mahamūda-khāna-nā[mā tanayō][2] Māṁ..[3] [pu]-raṁ yasyāḥ | pāla-

16 yati sm=āvanipati-kirīṭa-kōṭi-pramṛishṭ-āṁghriḥ || [10*] Sā ch=Āhmada-Sulutrāṇa-tanayē naya-śā-

17 lini | Allābadī-pātiśāhē śāsaty=ūrvīṁ mahōdayē || [11*] Tasmin puravarē=gaṇya-tuṁga-maṁdi-

18 ra-maṁḍitē | vāpīm=akārayad=ramyāṁ bhūri-sōpāna-saṁpadāṁ-(dam) || [12*] Niṁdaty=upavanaṁ ramyaṁ yasyā..........va-

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[1] Joshi, *op. cit.*, reads : *Sulatānā-Rama hemayanti.*

[2] These *aksharas* are engraved on something else previously engraved. The first two of the four *aksharas* appear to have been corrected from the originally incised word *jani.*

[3] The last *akshara* of this name in three *aksharas* is written above the line and looks like *vya* or *tī.*

19 naṁ vanaṁ(naṁ) | manutē ch=āpi pānīyaṁ taṁ payaḥ sāgaraṁ garaṁ(raṁ) || [13*] idaṁ cha | tarka-ras-ānala-chaṁdraiḥ[1] 1366 Śā-

20 kē Raktākshi-vatsar-Āśvayuji | māsē śukla-daśamyāṁ Sōmē Śravaṇē Dhruvē yōgē || [14*]. . . . . .n=Āhmada-Ba-

21 hmanī-Bībī-[sa]hanājhayā vihitā | ā-chaṁdr-ārkaṁ. . . . . .s=ānaṁdinī jagataḥ || [15*]. Śrīḥ ||

[1] Joshi, *op. cit.*, reads : *idam chātaka*.... ....*chandraḥ.*

DR. GHULAM YAZDANI

We regret to announce that Padma Bhushan Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, M. A.,D. Litt. (Osmania and Aligarh), O.B.E., the late Director of Archaeology, Archaeological Department of H.E.H. Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad-Dn. and late Honorary Epigraphist to the Government of India for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions passed away at Hyderabad on the 13th November, 1962, at the age of 77 years after a prolonged illness. With his passing away, an eventful life of service to arts and letters has come to end, the country has lost a great oriental scholar, historian and archaeologist, and the Persian and Arabic studies, in particular epigraphy have suffered irreparable loss.

The late Dr. Yazdani was born at Delhi in 1885, in a family celebrated alike for piety and learning. He had had a brilliant academic record : After completing his school education, he joined Delhi's premier educational institution, St. Stephen's College, and passed the Intermediate Examination of the Panjab University, securing first place in the province in Persian. Two years later, he took his B.A. degree from the same University having stood first in Arabic, and was awarded two gold medals for proficiency in Arabic and a University scholarship in the same subject. In the same year, he won the McLeod prize of the Panjab University for proficiency in Oriental Classics with English. In 1906 he took his M.A. degree in Persian from the Calcutta University.

While reading for his M.A. in English and Arabic at St. Stephen's College, Dr. Yazdani was appointed the Government of India Archaeological scholar for research in Arabic and Persian in 1905, and held it until 1907. During 1907-1909, he served as Professor of Persian in the St. Stephen's College. In 1909 he joined Bengal Educational Service and was appointed Professor of Arabic in the Government College, Rajshahi. His services were lent to the Panjab Government in 1913 and he worked as Professor of Arabic in the Government College, Lahore, where he continued until he was selected in 1914, on the recommendation of Sir John Marshall, then Director General of Archaeology in India, who cherished a very high opinion of his abilities and work, to organise and act as the head of the archaeological department of the Hyderabad State. He also won the Griffith Prize of the Calcutta University in history in 1913.

Dr. Yazdani did a yeoman service to the preservation of monuments and promotion of archaeological studies in the Hyderabad state during his tenure as Director. Apart from contributing a number of articles on historical and archaeological subjects, the annual reports of the department, his monumental works like *Mandu : the city of joy*, *Bidar : its History and Monuments* and his *magnum opus*, *Ajanta* in four voloumes, containing the description and plates of the world renowned paintings bear eloquent testimony to his valuable work in the fields of conservation, exploration, excavation, epigraphy, numismatics, etc. Even after his retirement, Dr. Yazdani continued to render extremely valuable services to the archaeological and historical studies. He was the founder-secretary of the Majlis-i-Makhṭūṭāt-i-Fārsiyya—The Persian Manuscripts Society, Hyderabad-Dn., and was mainly responsible for bringing out important historical works like *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir*, *Chach-Nāma*, *Riyāḏu'l-Inshā'* and *Tughluq-Nāma*. He was also mainly associated with the setting up and working of the Board of the History of the Deccan, and was one of the three members of its Board of Editors. He was entrusted with the compilation of the first volume of the series which was published in 1960 under the title *Early History of Deccan*.

The late Dr. Yazdani's association with this Journal dates almost from its very inception in 1907. As the archaeological scholar in Persian and Arabic, he was required to undergo training in Persian and Arabic epigraphy under such eminent scholars as Sir E. Denison Ross and Prof. J. Horovitz. He had already started to contribute to the journal *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, the predecessor of the present series, before he assumed charge on the afternoon of 31st July, 1915, subsequent to the resignation of Dr. Horovitz as the Honorary Government Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions. From that date until he relinquished the charge on 19th March, 1943, he rendered unique service to the cause of Persian and Arabic epigraphy of India and edited most successfully the biennial *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* from its 1913-14 issue onwards. He not only edited in all 15 volumes including one Supplement during his tenure but also contributed most of the articles himself.

The following is the list of articles contributed by Dr. Yazdani to the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* :—

1. The Inscription on the Tomb of 'Abdullāh Shāh Changāl at Dhar.
2. The inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi—Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Bahrām, 'Alāu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Balban and Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Kaiqubād.
3. A New Inscription of Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh of Bengal.
4. Inscriptions in Golconda Fort.
5. Two Inscriptions of king Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal, from Tribeni.
6. Inscriptions in the Tomb of Bābā Arjun Shāh, Petlād (Baroda State).
7. Inscriptions in the Golconda Tombs.
8. Remarks on the date of a copper plate inscription of Khandesh.
9. Inscriptions of the Bijapur Kings, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, from Naldrug, Nizam's Dominions.
10. Inscription of Khāfī Khān from Narasapur.
11. Inscriptions of the Khaljī Sulṭāns of Delhi and their contemporaries in Bengal.
12. Inscriptions of the Quṭb Shāhī kings in Hyderabad City and Suburbs.
13. Inscriptions of Niẓām Shāhī Kings from Antur Fort, Aurangabad District.
14. Inscriptions at Bodhan, Nizamabad District.
15. Inscriptions in the Fort at Qandhar, Nanded District, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.
16. An inscription from the Parenda Fort.
17. Inscriptions at Elgandal.
18. Inscriptions from Gudur and Siruguppa.
19. Inscriptions from the Bid (Bhir) District.

20. Inscriptions of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq from Rajahmundry.

21. Some unpublished Inscriptions from the Jaipur State.

22. A New Inscription from Golconda.

23. Inscription of Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh from the Pangal Tank, Nalgonda District.

24. The Quṭb Shāhī Inscriptions from Hyderabad.

25. An Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī from Rakkasgi in the Bijapur District.

26. Inscriptions of Bidar.

27. Inscriptions of Yadgir, Gulbarga District.

28. Some Inscriptions of the Musalman Kings of Bengal.

29. Six new inscriptions from Koppal, Raichur District.

30. Inscriptions of Shahpur, Gogi and Sagar, Gulbarga District.

31. Seven New Inscriptions from Bidar, Hyderabad State.

32. An Inscription from Dornhalli, Shahpur Taluqa.

33. Two inscriptions from the Warangal Fort.

34. Inscription in Margalla Pass, Rawalpindi District.

35. Inscription from the New Fort at Palamau in the Chota Nagpur Division, Bihar.

36. An inscription of Sulṭān Ḥusain Shāh of Bengal from the village Margram, Police Station Khargram, District Murshidabad.

37. An Inscription from Raisen Fort in the Bhopal State.

38. Inscriptions from Kalyani.

39. Inscriptions from Mudgal.

40. Inscriptions from the Taltam Fort.

41. Some new Inscriptions from Golconda and Hyderabad.

42. Two Mughal Inscriptions from Anad near the Ajanta Ghat, Hyderabad State.

43. Two new inscriptions from the Bidar District, Hyderabad State.

44. Some unpublished inscriptions from the Bombay Presidency.

45. The bilingual inscription of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khaljī from Rasulkhanji Museum, Junagarh.

46. Inscription of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī from Jalor, Jodhpur State.

47. An old Urdu inscription of Aḥmad Shāh II of Gujarat.

48. A Quṭb Shāhī Inscription from Patancheru, Medak District, Hyderabad State.

49. Five new inscriptions from the Bidar District.

50. Inscription of Sulṭān Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State.

51. Inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq from Asarawa Khurd near Allahabad.

52. Two Persian Inscriptions from Dhamoni, Saugor District, C. P.

53. Five Persian inscriptions from the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

54. Some Muslim inscriptions from the Madras Presidency and Orissa.

55. Seven new inscriptions from Baroda State.

56. The bilingual inscription of Quṭbu'd-Dīn from Rasulkhanji Museum, Junagarh.

The late Dr. Yazdani is survived by his wife, two sons and five daughters.

May God's mercy and peace be on him! Amen!

Dr. Ghulam Yazdani, M.A., D. Litt., O.B.E.
Honorary Epigraphist to the Government of India for
Persian and Arabic Inscriptions
(1915-1941)

Born :
22nd March, 1885
at Delhi.

Died :
13th November, 1962
at Hyderabad-Dn.

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